BUILDING ERAS IN RELIGION

BY

HORACE BUSHNELL

LITERARY VARIETIES

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EDITOR'S PREFACE TO THE EDITION OF 1881

Of the three volumes by Dr. Bushnell now produced under the general title of "Literary Varieties" two have long been out of print and one is new. The latter, "Building Eras in Religion," consists of various articles and addresses which have been printed in some fugitive form, and which Dr. Bushnell himself designated under the heading of Reliquiæ as the material for a book to be published after his death. Grouping these three books together now as a collection of his miscellaneous writings, we would emphasize the distinction between these and his theological works, these "the spontaneous overplus and literary by-play of a laborious profession," the latter the embodiment of that profession itself. They so richly represent and, as it were, personify the varied interests of his life as to form in themselves, if rightly interpreted, a biography necessary to the completeness of any which has been or could be written. As an aid to such interpretation, a few facts and thoughts may here be fitly presented.

The oration on Work and Play, often spoken of as the supreme literary product of his life, followed closely upon a profound private religious experience and was

written and delivered in that year of theologic tempest which threatened to overwhelm him as a heretic. But its atmosphere is serene, the high tenor of its literary inspiration unbroken by a note of strife. His ideal of a literary era painted in its closing pages seems to be that it shall emerge from a period of struggle under a religious impulse, as his own had done. The same thought is conveyed with equal force and beauty in his address on "Our Obligations to the Dead," in the volume on "Building Eras in Religion," wherein he depicts the future literary age for which the great struggle of our war has, he thinks, furnished fit training and noble subjects, religion being still "the only sufficient fertilizer of genius as it is the only real emancipator of man."

In the first volume, Work and Play, we have the "Age of Homespun," which contains the scenery and the *dramatis personæ* of his childhood; "The Growth of Law," in which we find the impress of his law studies; "The Founders Great in their Unconsciousness," wherein the strength of his own hereditary Puritan consciousness is revealed; "The Day of Roads," the direct product of his European journey; "City Plans," so closely connected with his work for Hartford and its Park; and "Religious Music," whose melodious thought and rhythmical style seem to date back to that time when, as a boy, he taught himself by a reverse process from his mother's song how to read music. One address on "Agriculture at the East" has been withdrawn, as superseded by the progress of history, and in its place

we have now that on "Barbarism the First Danger," the first public address by which he became widely known. Its truths were unpopular truths—needed, but unwelcome to the sensitiveness of new communities. As long as we have a frontier the article may be useful.

These articles, taken all together, evince a large amount of reading and study. Apart from the references to historical works, many of which were consulted in preparation for certain subjects, we find everywhere evidences that his mind was keenly alive to the inspirations of the great thought-makers, from Plato and Epictetus down to Bacon and Shakespeare. Books of systematized thought were less attractive to him than those in which thought is offered in free and fluent forms, capable of transmutation. The works of scientists and travelers, whose subject-matter is necessarily in the concrete, had special value to his mind as offering food for thought. He read more than is commonly believed, largely of books by the few master-minds, but also freely of the best present writers,—very little of metaphysical or philosophical books.

This present volume on the "Moral Uses of Dark Things" is not, as might be supposed, a logical treatise designed to solve the enigmas of life, but a series of observations made in a curious and inquiring spirit upon some of the strange and mysterious provisions of creation. It was as early as the year 1846 that Dr. Bushnell first had his attention called to some of these morally unaccountable aspects of human life and nature, and he then preached sermons on the uses of deformity and of phys-

ical danger. From time to time he observed new phases of the same riddle, and tore the disguise of a curse from many a blessing. At last he consolidated the fruit of his observations in our second volume, a subtle and curious contribution to the thought of the time, but one so unpretending of system as to be properly classified with his "Literary Varieties."

In the fact that the material of the third volume, entitled "Building Eras in Religion," was selected by Dr. Bushnell himself as that which he was willing to have stand when he was gone, we have his indorsement of it as being not inconsistent with his ripest thought. Notwithstanding this the articles were some of them among his earliest, as the date given with each will show.

It is through these three volumes that he will be best known to the world in his personality as a man. They are both flower and fruit, and not only illustrate but *are* the growth, the ceaseless activity, the ever-varying form of life in one of the most living of men.

EDITOR.

1881.

Since the above was written another book, "The Spirit in Man," has been published (1903), a book which also contains much of miscellaneous material.

EDITOR.

1903.

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I.

BUILDING ERAS IN RELIGION.*

The greatest buildings of the world are not palaces, or forums, or amphitheatres, but temples. It may be that the Coliseum, able to hold and even to seat a hundred thousand people, was a more capacious building than was ever erected for the uses of any kind of worship, still it was not so much a genuine product of architecture as a prodigious freak of royal barbarity. And we are therefore none the less permitted to say that men do their greatest things for religion. Neither is anything better understood than that every religion, which has power to get historic place in the world, comes to the flower, sooner or later, by asserting visibility and permanence in stone. It builds, and by that token challenges a right to stay, and be known for the ages to come; only it sometimes happens that the structures built, like empty shells found strewed upon the shore, remain, after both the builders and their religions are forgotten.

Thus we have the vast temple-works of Central

* Contributed to the *Hours at Home* in 1868, Vol. VII. Delivered on the occasion of the Consecration of Park Church, Hartford, Friday evening, March 29, 1867.

America, built by we know not whom, or for what god. The temple of Karnac, most stupendous of all structures,—who was the god, and what the religion, we do not know. The Druids of England built the prodigious fence of their religion called Stonehenge, we know not when, and can only discover that there was force enough in their religion to build gigantically. The Incas of Peru and the Aztecs of Mexico kept themselves in remembrance chiefly by their temple of the Sun, and their altar pile of Cholula, though their religions themselves and their very gods are forgot. The Buddhist cultus set up its grand masonries all over the East, in times so long gone by, that its people have now lost the measures of their ancestors, and cannot believe in them; ascribing the stupendous art and magnificence of their own Boro-Budor to some unknown, giant race. The fanes of the Greeks and Romans, and of the later people of Islam, are familiarly known. So it is that every religion, above the rank of mere fetichism, is fated to become, at some time, a builder; matching its ideas and ideal inspirations by its masonries.

So it is to be with the ancient Jehovah religion. Nine whole centuries must pass before the great building day arrives, but it will finally come. Down to that late time, there has never anything been built for the Jehovah worship, but a tent and a box. So long will it take for the great, everlasting ideas of the religion to settle the roving or fugacious habit of the people, and make them want a temple. History grinds slowly even when it grinds for God.

First of all Abraham comes out of the far East as a colonist, leading his train of flocks and servants, and they go a-gypsying, as all shepherd races do, from place to place, making no settlement during his lifetime. Before three generations are passed, his posterity become a bond-slave people in Egypt, making brick there for hundreds of years, but building nothing. Then they take a turn of forty years in a caravan state under Moses. Next follows the dark middle age of anarchy under the Judges, lasting five hundred years; out of which they emerge with scarcely a religion left, saying nothing of building for religion. Under the wise magistracy and prophet statesmanship of Samuel, the Jewish Washington, they settle at last into order. David, who is the most honored king and first poet of his country, very soon obtains the kingdom. By his great military and civil administration, he enlarges rapidly the empire of his nation, consolidates their industry, opens a new and great commerce, and makes them a first-class power. Meantime, by his religious music, and his religious poetry, he kindles a glorious new frame of inspiration in their feeling, and lifts them into such conscious preëminence above all contemporary peoples as properly belongs to their religion. Approaching, in this manner, the close of his reign, a great thought dawns in him more and more distinctly, and presses him at last quite urgently; viz., that his work is not complete without building, or at least preparing to build, a temple for his God; for he does not propose to execute

the work himself, but only to get everything ready for his son. He says: "I will make preparation for it;" and right royal is the preparation made. He has, in fact, so great an inspiration for it, that the very designs and patterns he prepares appear to be given him by the Spirit, as chief architect. Vast quantities of stone and timber are gathered, including precious stones and marbles. And withal there is laid up in the treasury gold and silver enough, obtained just then in great abundance by the new eastern commerce, to pay off our national debt about sixteen times over. For he says: "the house that is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnifical, of fame and glory throughout all countries." It must be a temple, in other words, such as may be worthy of monotheism; that is, of the God of all gods, the Lord and Creator of the world.

Solomon takes the plans and supplies, and for seven years and a half the holy hill-top swarms with its many thousand workmen, even as the bees at their hive. The work is done, and the great building era of the Jews' religion is passed; for the two temples afterwards built, under Zerubbabel and Herod, were only feeble attempts at restoration on a diminished scale. We have no drawings of the first temple and its architecture that can be relied on, but as the proportions were divinely given, it must have had merits transcendently high. Covered, as we know it was, with plates of gold on every part, and glittering like the sun from afar, it was certainly a structure of in-

comparable splendor. It must have been a prodigiously vast structure also, when taking in the courts, which were integral parts of it considered as a whole, and a single one of which covered more than fourteen acres of ground.

Descending now through twenty centuries, we come upon a second era, commonly regarded as the consummate building time of Christianity. I speak of the Cathedral age. It was even a building cycle, lasting three whole centuries; and was most remarkable for the number, and beauty, and architectural originality and grandeur of the structures erected.

It was long before the new religion could think much of building. For a time it had the synagogues of the old religion; small modest houses erected for Scripture-reading, exposition, and a common Sabbath worship. Driven out of these, it betook itself to the quadrangles of courts, and to caves, and catacombs underground. Then, by and by, it became a distinctly state religion, and was let into the vacated temples of the false gods, which it partially remodeled, remodeling itself also to meet the Pagan ideas.

There was no building as yet, save in a few isolated cases. Panic, desolation, poverty,—the barbarians of the North pouring, all the while, down across the Christian confines,—gave religion a chance for nothing but faith, and fortitude, and tears. By and by, when the vials of this wrath were spent, the barbarous irruptions, now in the ascendant, were found to

have created a new form of society, based in the feudal relations and the semi-Christian state of chivalry. For the feudal chiefs converted must somehow get a more superlative style in the church than the common herd of their serfs. Their forward soldiers accordingly were made a knightly order about them and took their vows of knighthood in ceremonies before the altars; where they swore fealty, (1) to God, (2) to the baron or prince they served, and (3) by a volunteer addition, to some fair one whose name they relied on to give the heroic inspiration. To redeem these rather airy pledges was to be their impulse to prowess in arms. And this knightly character gave a certain fascinating cast to society. True courage, honor, courtesy, all high sentiment were in it, and it had withal as great inspirations from religion as it well could have, in a way so romantic, or so nearly fantastic. It created thus a new romantic literature and, partly by help of that, a new church militant age. So that, when the supreme call of religion was heard, demanding in Christ's name the rescue of the holy land from the infidels, crusade after crusade followed, in as many great waves of enthusiasm. It was very dear enthusiasm, and yet was worth, it may be, all it cost. The surviving heroes straggled home, bringing new ideas and new germs of life. A great commerce with the East followed, and a vast wealth was shortly gathered in the coffers of the abbeys and cathedral chapters. And now the old heroics of sentiment, the romance, the church fervor, took fire in the thought of building

for religion, and began to throw itself up in stone as by a divine call. All at once building was everywhere. Geometry brought back from the Arab schools was put to work in a recomposing and cruciforming, as for Christ, of the Arabic elements of architecture. Masonry was now the great art, and masons were trailing from province to province, or nation to nation, according as this or that new structure might require their skill and labor. For mutual security and certificate, they formed themselves into guilds and societies perpetuated even to this day in fraternities of "accepted masons,"—accepted that is for association's sake; though not understood to be masons at all. Out of this immense constructive bee-work, all over Christendom, sprang the cathedrals, and the people became cathedral-builders about as distinctly as bees are wax-builders. Thus went up the magnificent Minster of York, the grandly-studied pile of Antwerp, the gossamer web of Strasburg, the sublime incipiency of Cologne, the mountain peak of St. Stephen's of Vienna, and the immortal beauty and unmatched miracle of St. Ouen; not to name well-nigh a hundred other celebrated structures, all over Germany, Belgium, France, and England. David's temple may have cost more in the weight of the gold than they all,—it probably did,—but gold in that day was scarcely a precious metal in comparison. The architectural merit meantime of the temple must have been vastly inferior; because, apart from the courts, and the external breadth and magnificence added by their

circumjection, it was a comparatively small structure. It had really no interior but a kind of sanctuary cell, whereas the cathedrals open vast heights and spaces within, under vaulted skies of stone,—chambers of worship for immense gatherings of people, and halls of ornament more august than were ever before seen. No forest knew how to grow as high, or pillar its arches as gracefully. It was as if the stone itself, bedded in cruciform lines of foundation, had shot up into peaks, and pinnacles, and pointed forms, and sprung its flying buttresses across in air, by some uplifting sense, or quickened aspiration.

What now shall we say? Do we stop here? After these two building eras, one under the old religion, the other under the new, is there to be no other? The architects will answer, No; because the capacities and combinations of lines are now exhausted. The high-going ritualists will say, No; because the cathedrals represent the ideal age of the Church and religion beyond which nothing more advanced is possible. The plain people will say, No, for humility's sake; imagining that all high building slurs the spiritualities; not observing that our truest littleness consists in doing our greatest things for God. The last-days' people will say, No; because the end is at hand, and there is no time left for any building era to come. Another class will say, No, more argumentatively; alleging that a worship for the eyes, as in the lifting of the host before vast multitudes of people, must give

way henceforth to a preaching and hearing exercise, and accordingly that only small edifices will hereafter be wanted; such as may be called audience rooms and used as stands for preaching.

Encountering, at the outset, so many kinds of negatives, we must consent, perhaps, to part company with a good many of our readers, in conceiving the possibility, or probable fact, of any building era more magnificent hereafter to appear. A great many people, a whole major class indeed of the world, are ready always to judge that nothing ever can be, which is not. What can be more visionary, in fact, than to imagine that what has not been ever will be; that what is admired will pass by; that what is done will be outdone! Sometimes they are greatly delighted by the confidence of progress and of some great day to come, but that progress can do anything more than to just continue and extend the present is quite incredible; they have never carried their mind so far as to imagine anything farther. They are going to convert the world, and liberate the world, and make all things luminous, and completely redintegrate society, but how can they imagine that greater men are to be seen, and more of them, and greater assemblies gathered, and new modes of worship and fellowship generated, such as will demand structures of another type and vaster dimensions! And how, above all, can any but some inveterate dreamer imagine, that architecture will hereafter pass into new forms, and take body in proportions more august! Had these people of

progress without expectation lived in the days when the Coliseum was founded, they would have laughed at the idea than anything could ever be done in the Greek lines of architecture, which had not already been done. And yet here is an edifice drawn out in ellipse, combining in three stories the three Greek orders, with walls a hundred feet high and no roof, and vast enough to contain more people than all the Greek temples of the world together. True, the architecture is not very wonderful in its beauty; no matter for that, it was actually built, and was quite as finely conceived as the barbarous and abominable uses could any way fitly inspire. Twenty years before, there was never to be any such great superstructure, and the man who should suggest the possibility would be mocked by the whole world's laughter! And yet now, here it is, just because an emperor has risen barbarous enough in his taste and surrounded by a people barbarous enough in their servility, to delight in the scenes which this hell of inhumanity is to exhibit! Why then should it be thought impossible that the regenerative, out-spreading, all-transforming power of our gospel, should sometime be able, in the glorious instinct of its fellowship, to do as great a thing also as it may want, whenever it is wanted? If we do not believe that other Coliseums are yet to be built on a much grander scale, why should they not, save that we so confidently hope the world will not be wicked enough and coarse enough to want them? After all it is the particular fault of our great expect-

ancies, that we do not expect anything. Without knowing it, we tacitly assume that nothing is to appear beyond our scale, and that our machine is really to run but a short time longer, finishing off at last in the ordinary! On the contrary, just everything indicates, it seems to me, that these present times are God's beginnings, and we almost see with our eyes that the world is but an egg unhatched as yet; preparation, possibility, nothing more. It will take a long time yet to finish the plan,—ages upon ages, "world without end," as the doxology sings,—for it is not going to be a losing plan, as it would be if it were to be ended now. It will yet go on, we may believe, propagating salvation, character, saintship, brotherhood, intelligence, and glory, not for some hundreds, but more probably for some hundred thousands of years, till the populations of the redeemed souls preponderate so vastly as to throw all computations of loss out of mind. Great things in this view are yet to be done here, and we must not too soon conclude that nothing is to appear, transcending what is or has been.

There has never before been a time, we may see at a glance, when such vast assemblies could be gathered at single points as now, if there were any occasion for it. Our railroad circulations could hurl in, almost any day, on the great centres, a hundred or five hundred thousand people. Structures too can be raised, if they are wanted, large enough to shelter and contain them all, and if we ask what they can do by coming together in such multitudes, and how they

can be wielded in a manner to answer any practical purpose, it may, or may not be easy to specify the particular object and way beforehand. But it is a remarkable fact that a particular invention, just now completed, organizes a brain, or sensorium, for the whole living world, and can much more easily do it for whole acres of living assembly. We can even set all choirs and organs, in every part of our State, or nation, upon a perfect chime of time-beat, in any given anthem, at any given hour of night or day; and who can say what uses may yet be served in assemblies by these courier threads of wire in the long grand future before us? If Holiness to the Lord is to be written on the bells of the horses, why not on these wires, which are so much closer to intelligence? We know very little, as yet, what is to come of these and such like instrumentations. God no doubt has some very grand chapters of advance to be revealed in their religious uses, such as our slow-going imaginations are not likely at once to overtake.

This one thing, meantime, is clear as it need be, that we are going to have resources for building, if building is wanted, that have never yet been devoted to any such purpose. We have more wealth now in our roadways, measured in creative industry, than Solomon put into his temple, and it is not money spent as with him, but money invested for a larger production. The powers we have now at work are creating untold wealth, such as was never before seen, and is not now conceived. Becoming less airy and pretentious too, as

it becomes more common, wealth will be entered more easily into the finest perceptions and loftiest ideals of religion. It will have its inspirations, and will join itself to the brotherhood of the saints in all the grand purposes and fervors of their advancing cause. Wealth has a new grand chapter thus to write; and having all utmost ability, it will as certainly become a great builder, as there is found to be any Christian occasion for it. And it will be strange, if resources so immensely great do not sometime appear in structures that, for magnitude and majesty, are unequaled.

And we need not be afraid lest the art of building should be found to have come to its limit. There is a beautifully artless art in sanctified souls, raising them, age upon age, into higher capacities of form, because their perception is holier and closer to eternal truth. Supposing then, that no new forms and orders are ever to be added, any least inventive bigot of routine can see, that putting down a Greek cross for the centre, and drawing out the four limbs into four Latin crosses, a most perfect five-fold whole can be constructed of any conceivable extent. There is also a kind of architectural effect proposed by Ezekiel, in his mystic temple, that has never yet been exhausted; it has not, in fact, been tried, save in a very limited way in a few of the most picturesque Middle Age structures. It proposes a cutting into the walls of the structure, built immensely thick, of open corridors and open stairways, to be used in processions that shall be seen moving onward and back, and up and down,

all over the structure, without and within, and making it alive with marching hosts of praise. As describing it, the prophet says: "And the side-chambers (galleries, corridors) were three, one over another, and thirty in order; and they entered into the wall. * * * And there was an enlarging and a winding about still upward to the side-chambers; for the winding about of the house went still upward round about the house." * In this way, as it will be seen, the vast stone pile was to be made alive as if it were some ant-hill of worship, and have the living multitudes of the people for its ornamentation. And who shall say that new ideas and forms shall not hereafter be invented? Is it possible,—can we be so weak as to think it,—that these immeasurable ages to come are never to go beyond the present alphabet of architecture and its elements? What have we done by our geologic explorations, but set open the temple of the creation, showing how the several tiers and stories rise upon each other, and how it is garnished by the wondrous living creatures that have bedded their figures in the stone; all which, in some age of holy and believing science yet to come, may suggest, we know not what new combinations of constructive art? And when the great new-creation day, or day of the Spirit, which we all look for, arrives, will it not be the day of the Dove, in symbols and constructions that present the spiritualities hovering now above and through

* Ezek. xli, 6, 7

all cruciform order and structure, as the Pentecost hovers in the sky of Calvary? We stammer, of course, in all such half-discerning suggestions. Our guesses are weak. But new-born fact, when it comes, will show us something not weak.

So far, we are looking at the ways and means and possibilities of another building age or ages. Let us look here for a moment, into what wants may be rising to require it. After all, this cathedral age that we so commonly copy and praise, and sometimes idolize, is a great way off from being completely and genuinely Christian. Knighthood and grim war flavor all the grace there is in it. The worship too, is to be altar-worship; not as commemorating the offering once for all, but before and around the grand altar set in the focal point of the edifice, where priests are to be waving their incense, and offering always Christ's new-created body for the people to worship. They come as to an offertory therefore, and not as to the hospitality of a "table." Meantime, the structure itself is called a cathedral, because the bishop is conceived to be sitting *in cathedra* there, as presiding in the functions of his spiritual lordship. The preparations of the place, grand as they are in their forms, have a look that is partly alien; representing the swollen pomp of authority, and back of all, a power that deals with religion specially, as being patron to it, and having it in charge.

Now it is not difficult to see, that something different from this, and more advanced, and built upon a

larger scale, is yet to be demanded. We are to look, in particular, for something more nearly in the type of the Pentecost, and the new brotherly communion there displayed. Had there been thrown up there, on the instant, a structure vast enough to accommodate the uses of the many thousand converts, it would not have been a cathedral, or bishop's-seat edifice, but it would have been something more fitly called a *Koinonial*, or House of Communion. Or it might have been called the House of the Dove, or, tipped with Spirit-fire on all the summits without, the House of Flame. No matter what the name, if only we distinguish the thing; a temple for the communion of saints, and their worship in the Spirit, vast enough to take in all the immense crowds of pilgrims there gathered; "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians,"—all brothers now in the brotherhood of Christ begun,—breaking bread together, and joining in the solid unity of their worship with all gladness and singleness of heart. In the first two crops of converts harvested here at the beginning, we have a count of five thousand souls, who, instead of going from house to house in the breaking of bread, would have rushed in, by the instinct of their love, to fill any common temple large enough to receive them.

And in just the same way admitting, as we proba-

bly should, that our people are to be trained or discipled in small bodies and hearing assemblies, there will almost certainly be, as there always have been, occasions where vaster assemblies will desire to be gathered and have their brotherhood, to be held in a larger bond of communion. Within a few years past there has been a Sunday-school gathering in England, which probably no one of their cathedrals would have contained.

If our Baptist friends are right in assuming that the whole church of God is coming to their practice at last, they ought to expect that in some of the great cities Baptisteries may be wanted vast enough to be canopied only by the sky, like the Coliseum. We are having great crowds gathered in the name of our Christian Association, and shall probably have still greater in the years to come, such as can be assembled only in some vast *koinonial* structure, nowhere now to be found. Within a very few days past there has been held in the Crystal Palace, a grand commemoration of Handel, where a choir of three thousand gathered an audience of twenty thousand. It would not be more strange than some other things which have happened, that within a ten years' time, the Evangelical Alliance, raised to the higher pitch and more catholic scope of its calling, should be gathering assemblies of saints, as it were by nations; such as will require more space than any Hall of Exposition, or Crystal Palace, would be able to afford them.

Besides we are not to forget that great movements

now beginning all over the world, foretoken vast assemblages of believers flowing together in a sublime concourse of brotherhood. The eternal Spirit is hovering over the nations and setting them in upon closer and closer bonds of amity, such as must be finally sealed by the Christian inspirations. "Lift up thine eyes round about and see; all these gather themselves together, and come to thee;" Catholic, and Greek, and Protestant, all as one. The abundance of the sea, all the forces of the Gentiles, from China round, will as certainly come into the circuit of one love, as into that of commerce and diplomacy, and it will result that, in these vast new confluences, there will be great assemblages gathered, wanting structures where they may be. Besides, in that great day which we think the Spirit is preparing, we can see, at a glance, that changes will be coming to pass that will demand great feasts and anthems of *koinonial* worship, such as our world-brotherhood has never yet imagined.

We have been split up, for example, by many thousand debates, trying to settle bases of unity by the settlement of opinions. But these notional points or entities breed, as we find, only sects and sub-divisions without end, and all our longings after the complete fellowship are disappointed. But when these nits of opinion are all hatched, these dissidences all worn out, and the "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all," begin to be felt as the uppermost fact and grandest faith, before which all opinions are to be

schooled into their places, by that time we sink as it were in final gravitation downward on the state of unity. We shall flow together, most likely, with an ardor of brotherhood now inconceivable. The roadways will be rivers of men, crowding downwards on the centres of appointed fellowship, and the assemblies gathered will not be satisfied with anthems that are not as the waves of the sea.

And so again it will be, when the immense imposture of the Popehood goes down. When that priesthood and all priesthood goes down, letting God's armies of believers forth into the enlarged liberties of his kingdom, it will be the new grand birth-day morning of Christian brotherhood. Protestant is no more, Catholic is no more, but Christ is all, and there will be no cathedrals large enough to be more than side chapels of the Grand Houses of Unity now required. St. Peter's will now dwindle to a toy, and the great *koinonials*, if so we please to call them,—cathedrals they will not be,—will so far have their place. There will here be no pulpits, it may be, or preaching-stands; no altar, for the sacrifice is ended, gone by for ever; no priest or priestly vestments, for Christ the only and last priest is gone up on high; there will be no dividing screen behind which, in their choir, the canons are heard chanting out of sight in male voice only: but the whole wide space within, crowded from wall to wall with its many thousand worshipers, will be itself the choir, canons all themselves, male and female, lifting their own grand hymn, or Hallelujah

together; so that, as the gospel itself is not a salvation for half the world but for all, the glorious sopranos will now have their part, floating clear above and fluting heavenly sanctities on the top of so great masses of sound.

There is also yet another change to be anticipated, when the promised day of the Spirit arrives, that will naturally bring together immense conventicles of a kind more severely grand, because of the stupendous intellectual consolidation supposed. I refer to the final reconciliation of science and religion. There is no real discord between them. The natural and the supernatural, science and faith, have a unity of relation as complete as any right and left hand. And yet it has not hitherto been easily discovered; for we have just now a large dissent on hand that disallows all miracle, takes away the possibility of prayer, and weakens and chills, in a thousand ways, the faith of religion itself. It is partly the fault of a narrow-minded way in the disciples and professed champions of religion, and partly the fault of an over hasty and falsely tempered intellectual conceit, in the forward teachers and expounders of nature. The schism is an old one, really as old as the world; viz., a conflict between thinking and believing; only the strife is now being drawn closer as the system of science and the habit of thinking in the terms of causes are more stringently set. Many are greatly concerned lest all faith and all supernatural truth should be subsiding now into final contempt. Christianity they fear has

come to its limit and is ready to die. Far from that as possible. On the contrary this fearful closing in of the conflict is but a convergence towards the settlement of it. The point of comprehension is now being reached, where it shall be seen that nature and the supernatural are joint factors, *ab eterno*, in God's kingdom, complementary one to the other and not contrary. And when the conclusion is fully established, entered into the mind both of science and religion, they will be forever atoned and reconciled to each other in a solid and compact unity. They will now be forward to recognize each other in the great fraternity of God, and will want occasions where they may say, "all hail," to each other, and set forth their common revelations. No fact ever took place in the world at all comparable to this reconciliation of science and religion, save the reconciliation of the great world-schism made by sin itself; and indeed this other reconciliation is never completed and set in the dignity of reason, without the other. Faith henceforth will not be timorous any more, for it is now become the congener of all reason. It will even be scientific to believe, and there will be a vaster, broader enthusiasm kindled for the great brotherhood of religion, than has ever yet been conceived. It will be the Creator-worship and Redeemer-worship joined, and the assemblies will want spaces and symbols in which the brotherhood of all fact and truth may be fitly acknowledged.

What occasions there may be for great assemblies,

and what vaster structures may be wanted for their use, appear to be now sufficiently shown. If any should ask at this point, by what precise uses, or modes of use, these structures will be occupied, we shall be much at fault of course. I have already suggested a possible use of the telegraphic instrumentation, throwing out sentiments in printed forms which the vastest conceivable assemblies may respond to in thunders of assent; petitions of prayer set forth to which the common Amen will make answer as by the sound of many waters; anthems, and chants, and hymns, and public *te deums*, that will command the common voice of as many organs and choirs as will be wanted for whole acres of assembly. Holy processions too may be timed by hymns and marches in the galleries of walls that are alive with worship. We know nothing of all this. It is not for us to appoint these matters. We only see that there will be great movements of brotherhood, and great feeling wanting expression, and the men of the times will know how to find it without help from us. Enough to know that there are great days yet to come! Would that we could see them! —and perhaps we shall.

Since now it will seem to some of you, as already anticipated, that I have been venturesome or visionary in these suggestions, let it be remembered that what is written in the Scripture is far more visionary in its way, and promises more. In the last chapters of Ezekiel and of John, we have I know not what revelations of a great building era to come. Both

describe and give, as by definite measurements, the proportions of a vast new city. The name of the city, according to one, is, *The Lord is There.* The other calls it, *The New Jerusalem.* According to one, there is to be a temple in the city; according to the other, no temple at all, but a throne of universal worship; which comes back very nearly to the same thing. If it should be imagined that these architectural pictures relate to the perfect state of the blessed hereafter, that may be true; but it will be true only as a glorious kind of city life in God has been first produced here, flowing into that by transition. In one of the cities, a healing stream is seen flowing out from under the threshold of the temple, which symbolizes, of course, the universal healing of the gospel. In the other, the very city itself is to be seen descending out of heaven from God, and all the glory and honor of the nations are represented as being gathered into it. All which indicates, it will be seen, a great moral regeneration here below. And if I have been right, exactly this moral and spiritual regeneration is going to require a great building age for its uses, which, again, appears to be shown us in these prophetic pictures. However much they are spiritualized, it will be very difficult to give them any construction that does not imply the actual building of something transcendently vast and impressive. It may not be true that any city will be built that is literally three hundred and seventy-five miles square and three hundred and seventy-five miles high, as in

John's description. But these definite measures, and all the twelves of the foundations and the gates, representing the twelve apostles of the Lamb, show at least that a very exactly finished, cubically squared society is understood, which exactness will be somehow represented in the definitely composed forms of their constructions. How too could it happen, if these prophecies are to be sublimated into merely moral significances, that one of them even thinks out a scheme of ornamentation perfectly original, hitherto scarcely used at all, yet having scope enough to create a new order of architecture, and the grandest, most soul-quickening spectacle of composition ever conceived?

We see then,—for this is the sum of all we have been saying,—that the Holy Spirit organizes, himself, the communion of saints, and will as certainly make places or build houses for it in his times. Building for religion is no such carnal thing, in this view, as many think; and if we build well, what else should we do, when we are building for God? We so far put ourselves in connection with a great instinct of religion, and with eras to come, when the grandest doxologies, and most hallowed prayers, and widest human brotherhoods, will be mounting into stone by the upward lift of their affinities. Far be it from us to reflect, in the suggestions here offered, on the dignity of our common audience chambers, or preaching-stands, called churches. Still farther be it from us to stir up any puffy conceit; as if, in the building of

these, we were doing something very magnificent, such as belongs to the last great day and final glory of our religion. We need, first of all, to understand that this is the day of small things, and not despise the day of small things because a greater is to come. Probably never, in the most advanced age of religion, will our small structures, called churches, be dispensed with. They are, and are always to be, our synagogues, standing in the succession of the synagogues, and not in the succession of the temple, as many are forward without right to assume. These had no priesthood and no altar. They were the people-houses of religion, where they came together every Sabbath, to read the word, and offer their interpretations, and blend their prayers. And these synagogues were the really interesting places of the old religion, far more interesting, in most respects, than the temple. Who can ever think, without profoundest respect and tenderness, of the dear old synagogue of Nazareth, where Christ attended, "as his custom was," and where he began his ministry, standing up to read, and saying when he had done: "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears"? What scenes took place too in one synagogue or another, almost every Sabbath, under Christ's ministry; in Capernaum, in all the synagogues of the country towns, in all the four hundred and more of Jerusalem! And then afterward, wherever the apostles went to preach Christ in foreign cities,—in Damascus, in Antioch, in Alexandria, in Corinth and Philippi,—here it was that they

found a place and freedom for their testimony. Hither, in like manner, we must come for all high schooling in the faith. Here we are to get our incitements, corrections, reproofs, consolations, sacramental food, and dearest helps of brotherhood; for as these were always, so they are always to be, our schools of godliness.

And yet it cannot be less than immensely important, as we cast our eye forward, and take our auguries of the future, that we do not cram it with people and things in our own petty measures. As we expect a great future, so we must expect to have something great done in it. And I know not anything that will fire us with higher thoughts and tone our energies for a loftier key, than to see just what our prophets saw with so great triumph, glorious ages of building for God, such as never were beheld before; a city of God, or it may be many, complete in all grandeur and beauty, and representing fitly the great ideas, and glorious populations, and high creative powers of a universal Christian age.

II.

THE NEW EDUCATION.*

We agree, in common speech, to call educated men, "men of *letters*," understanding by the term such as have been trained in the classics and the literatures of the Greek and Latin peoples. For the time was, at the revival of learning so-called, when there was nothing else to begin at and learn from. Plato, Aristotle, Greek and Latin poems, histories and orations, were the general stock of the world's mental furniture. It was letters then or nothing. And a glorious quickening of mind began thus at the study of letters, whence alone it could. So by a kind of scholarly prescription, we fell into the opinion, for a time, that letters are and must be the staple matter of all high education.

But there was a day of things to come, as of letters; for when things arrive at knowledge in the discoveries of science, they too will claim the right to be educators, taking the place, or sharing the place, of letters. And as letters are the mind-stock furnished by men, so things will be the stock of endowment

* Delivered at New Haven before the Sheffield Scientific School, at Commencement, 1870.

bodied in God's own works. Their revelations, so long hidden from discovery, will come out now as in fresh glory, setting mind aglow with new intelligence. And they will uncover such new ranges of thought, and such worlds-full of meaning, in a method so exactly, gloriously, conformed to mind, that if the great human teachers, such as Plato and Aristotle, had but caught the sense of them, it is even doubtful whether they would have been able to think of anything else. Who of us indeed will not be set on fire himself, if once it occurs to him to ask how it must have gone with either of these two,—Plato, for example,—had he been allowed to spread his great soul suddenly out on things and grasp their science as we do to-day? His name would have been Plato still, and might possibly have come down to us; but the man, the character that filled that name, must have been wholly another, glorious enough doubtless, but yet with another sort of glory. Finding how, in that strangely gifted moment, to untwist the threads and score the angles and velocities of light; flashing in telescopic vision across the abysses, and formulating the forces and times of the sky; questioning and getting answer from the clouds, whence they rise, and how they carry their loads of thunder and rain; unyoking analytically the atoms of the world, and beholding the rush of their attractions, moving all in regimental count and squadrons of formulæ; finding how color is magically hid in the colorless white beam of the day; and having opened to his inspection the

miraculous geometrizings of the crystal growths; distinguishing the layers and times of the rocks below, and reading, so to speak, in their tables of stone, the autograph record of innumerable populations, dead and gone before the stone itself was made; able also, canvassing mere upper surface, where agriculture digs and delves for bread, to hear exactly what the soils ask for to put them in fertility, and set their deserts blooming in fresh growths; and yet, once more, and what is more than all, if he could have gotten full note of the forces unheard, trooping through the masses and affinities of substance,—light, heat, attraction, magnetism,—conceiving the innumerable engines and machineries that will sometime put them in harness for the draught, to plough through even wide oceans against the tides and storms, to whirl across whole continents in journeys that are races, to leap even thousands of miles through gulfs miles deep, and come out in swift couriership and dry, with messages rushed through the paths of the sea;—if, I say, great Plato could have sent his thought through these and other such-like stupendous revelations of science, in some brief time, and come out with any breath left in him, what would have been his first word to the young men of his Academy, and what would he have bid them study but these new, fresh-born, all-wondrous things! "Here, behold! is true high argument for you, such as neither I, nor Socrates, nor all sages and poets could ever think before."

And what now of the Dialogues, what of the Re-

public, what of all the fine papers he was going to write for us? Ah, I fear he would have dropped them incontinently out of mind, made a full end of them! And glad enough truly we have a right to be, that no such stunning revelation befell him; for the loss of these would have been even the more irreparable that we could never have known it.

Now any one of us who has barely swept over the field of modern science, in this rapid way of mental excursion, must clearly see, I think, that in such new arrival of things, a new education, in some good sense of the terms, must also have arrived. The world itself is now become *God's classic*, a book that is perfect in the method, grand in the subject, and full of all deepest insight; having more language for mind in it, more idea, meaning, music, logical endowment, interpenetration of beauty and force, many times more to raise intelligence, and be the ensouling both of order and flame, than there is or possibly can be in all the contributions of letters or of classic genius in all the past ages;—dwarfed, of course, by man's infantile quantities, and flawed by mortal blemish. Sorry match enough all books of man, for God's book written in things.

Since the world then, set forth by science, is become, as it were, a new intelligible congener at all points to mind, something like a new education, it is plain beforehand, must result; and a large debate is now going on as to what the change shall be. Some will only modernize the academic courses in the manner of

our American colleges, adding new studies as new sciences arrive. Some will vote the classics dead and let them go. Others will only include them in a list of optionals, made up in no unity of reason, but heterogenic as the caprices of choice may be, making thus no proper university, but a proper omnibus rather on a four years' trip, with any such inside as will take the passage. I cannot undertake to discuss this very heavy matter here, and happily I need not, because it is already decided. Enough that on this ground there are to be two organizations: first, the old Academic College, working for all ages by essentially the same gymnastic plan; and secondly, a new College of Practical Science that belongs more particularly to the present age and its wants. I only suggest, with a certain feeling of satisfaction that there is a distribution of nature which very nearly corresponds, a distribution, that is, of studies for what is inherent and for what is in use, of the pure mathematics and the applied, of theoretic science and practical science, of skill in the classic tongues and of skill in this or that spoken language. If it should be our opinion that as good classics are written now in our modern languages as are brought us in the ancient, still our tongue itself dates from their dead motherhood, and to that we must go, *always and forever*, to master it. That is the distinctively elegant learning, because it is the only kind of learning that takes us back to the word of our mother, and the first principles of our own tongue.

What I propose then, at the present time, is to have such debate as we may, on the office and place of the scientific school; providing a shorter course of study for such as have only shorter means; a course better adapted, apart from all consideration of means, for the best advance of a certain class of minds; and especially a course that will prepare a new great age of business faculty, such as notoriously the college training does not. The school of practical science, added to the fixed courses of the college plan, proposes, in fact, a universalizing of the university idea; that as we have schools of theology and law and medicine, with military schools outside, to serve the military uses, so we are to have as many schools of applied science as there are kinds of arts to be scientifically shaped and helped.

All along, in our scientific gestation period, we have been moving on this issue, unawares to ourselves, and now at last the day of birth is come. For here, exactly, is the place and office which our Connecticut Scientific School, the Sheffield, is engaged to fill, wherein it is entitled to a degree of consideration, which it has by no means received as yet from our people. Most of them have heard that such a school exists, and is somehow engaged to give scientific help to agriculture, mining, metallurgy, engineering, and the right application of the mechanical forces: but by what strides of progress, almost transcending belief, it is moving forward on a great future they do not know. Having only such endow-

ment as sufficed for the state of infancy, it has already outgrown both the endowment and the infancy, gathering in a large corps of teachers, resolute men, gifted with all highest qualifications, and above all, able to find much bread in their enthusiasm. By the unwonted force of that, backed by their formerly single benefactor, who is now being joined by others; having also a small agricultural fund in the public lands, they have gotten their halls and laboratories and cabinets and all best kinds of apparatus, and have gathered in, by their successes in teaching, a larger and larger following of pupils, till now, at last, they count as many on the ground as one hundred and forty, putting their institution far in advance of all other like institutions in the country, unless West Point be taken as an exception. Having won for it such precedence, almost *gratis*, they have certainly won a right also to live and have their endowment solidly made up to them; for they, plainly enough, cannot live on their enthusiasm always. And this, exactly, is getting to be the opinion of many, as we see by the growing additions made to their funds; for since they bear the flag so well, we are learning to have it as the point of honor to send them bravely on with cheers.

But I am not here to speak as their advocate, partly because they do not ask it, and partly because they can do it for themselves much better than I can do it for them. What I am going to say, therefore, will not be for this particular school, but for the general subject.

It does not appear to have been observed, as it very well might be, that the progress of natural science must finally bring on just the crisis which has now arrived; placing every people or nation that expects to have a forward position in the world, under a fixed necessity of culture in the uses of science. What immense strides have been made in all works of enterprise and arts of production, under the new-discovered laws and principles, is sufficiently observed and is even a stale kind of story. But the end is not yet; the story is only begun.

The one single science of chemistry, for example, what has it not done? See the old dead-matter world, dead and impotent all through, even as omnipotent steam is dead in the quiet inefficiency of water, quickened, so to speak, in every dullest atom, and leaping out in fiery potency to stir whatever stirs for it; gases innumerable, new creatures altogether, getting free, to be known as the ghost-world of matter; new metals, new salts, solvents, colors, oils, pigments; old quantities inert made thunders of; navigation re-created and oceans reduced to ponds; whole months of old-fashioned time condensed into single days; freights, bulletins, populations, thoughts, put whirling as in mazes of new celerity; fires, forges, wheels, laboratories innumerable, and shops that are populous towns,—where shall we stop recounting only what this single science has done?

And yet all this we seem to think, because the science new-born has so far applied itself. What need

then have we of schools to conduct such applications? All the greater need, I answer, that so many wider, vaster applications are not made, but are only ready to be. See how it goes with iron and steel. What have we better known, since even Tubal-cain's day, than how to make them, work them and get a great part of our civilization out of them? And yet our processes have been so changed within a very few years that we seem to have known just nothing about them. Our chemists showed us first how steel is differed from iron by the union of carbon. We enjoyed the really important discovery for a long time, when by and by the further discovery followed that pig-iron only contained too much carbon. Whereupon Bessemer puts himself to burning out a part of the carbon, so as to leave what before was pig-iron, steel, instead of roasting carbon into iron already decarbonized. He succeeded, but found on trial that he could not stop the burning-out process accurately enough to make the new method work evenly, as it must to be available. Not to be defeated so, he took his lesson at first principles again, and began once more, proposing now to burn out all the carbon in his principal retort, having another slung by its side, with just enough in it, by weight, of the supercarbonized pig not burned but only melted, to give the needed stock of carbon for all. Thus at every step of his invention he was feeling after steel in pig-iron by strict laws of chemistry, till finally he came down square upon it. His problem was triumphantly and heroically finished.

So that now, by one of the grandest strides ever made in the arts, he is girdling the world with cast-steel in a way that makes it only a little more expensive kind of iron.

The same story exactly is just now ready in respect to coal. Did we not know all about it, and how to get the heat of it, a long time ago? But the new Siemen's furnace, utilizing it by first turning it into gas and burning that in a blast of hot air, abstracting also the heat as it is used, and storing it in bricks to be used a dozen times over, saving a whole four-fifths of the expense,—what is this profoundly cunning fetch of economy but an application, yesterday, of principles of science well known long ago, and waiting to be thus applied?

So of all the other sciences; our application of them is yet scant and imperfect. Of the $2,000,000,000 already expended for railroads in our country, what do they tell us but that 20 per cent. at least,—$400,000,000,—has been thrown away by bad engineering, such as more and better science would have avoided. And what do we hear, but that our own young school of science has already saved money enough to the State, by simply exposing the worthlessness of worthless manures, to endow it ten times over more sufficiently than it can ever hope to be endowed?

It could not be more plain, in short, that as a people we have interests of growth and production depending on a more scientific equipment in our processes, than many of us are yet able to conceive. We are a

proverbially sharp-witted people, and we make a great many lucky hits of invention, because our wits are nimbled for almost anything by our ambitious but rather light and thin education. But thriving thus by our wits and by lucky accidents and conditions will not hold us long. Solid endowments are indispensable in the long run. And how much does it signify that we probably have not any two men, in all our shops and superintendencies, who, without more science, could ever have discovered the cast-steeling process of Bessemer or the heating process of Siemen!

Down to the time of the Great Exhibition of London, the British people, having such advantages in their supplies of coal and iron, felt sure of an easy precedence in all the arts depending on these two staples. Meantime the great French iron-mongering, machine-building establishments of Creusot, every day enlarging, are becoming schools of monitorial instruction, so to speak, where their designers and workmen are being trained in eye and hand, in scientific adjustments and the propagations of forces, in the study of forms and the sciences and graces of mechanical movement, and behold it comes out, in the Great Exposition at Paris, that the shops of British art are ignominiously beaten at every point! Their designs are coarse and clumsy; their engines are so badly constructed, as respects the saving of heat and of iron and also of friction, as to virtually put them out of the market. And it has actually resulted since, that the English railroads are importing locomotive engines largely from

France. It would even be amusing, if it were a little less sad, to hear the four great committees of Englishmen, comprising the aristocracy of the realm at one end, and the skilled workmen at the other, returning from the French Exposition, testifying in reports that have the minor key and the sound almost of a cry, that England must have schools of applied science, or else go down utterly in the arts of production.

Shortly after, so great is the concern excited by this discomfiture, that J. Scott Russell, of "Great Eastern" celebrity, a man of the highest capacity and a thoroughly trained scholar, hastens or is hastened off to the Continent to re-examine the schools of technical science, with which he was already acquainted, and make his report of them. He comes back, telling his people very frankly that they are the worst educated nation of Europe. He spreads out the grand scheme of technical training in Prussia. He describes the magnificent Polytechnicum of little Switzerland, at Zurich, showing how it is already drawing off some of the finest, daintiest kinds of manufacture both from England and France, giving to this poor little people, having neither coal nor iron, a fair large part of the world's most productive industries. He spreads out in particular the art education map of the little duchy of Würtemberg, comprising 1,700,000 people, showing how everything is taught scientifically, as respects the principal arts of life, even down to the shoeing of horses, and tells his countrymen that if they were to provide instruction according to the same ratio of

supply, they would have 11 universities of applied science, with 49 professors each, and more than 5,000 students; 11 subordinate trade schools or colleges, with 26 professors each, and 6,500 students; and subordinate to these, in towns and villages, 1,180 schools, having 425 masters and more than 8,000 pupils; whereas, in place of all these, they have now almost nothing to show but a high university education, which rises to its summit in classical and logical studies,—dead the first by time, and dead the second by nature, because it is too dry to be alive; both having only the least relation possible to uses in life's productive works.

The point, then, at which we arrive in this economic exposition, is briefly this: that a new crisis now is pending for the nations, pending for us as truly as for any; for whatever nations or peoples get most forward practically in science, we now begin to see, must bring all others under. And this is just as true for the most isolated and separate nations as for any. We ourselves are in the battle and cannot escape it, and nothing is left us but to strip to it and go in for the completest and best scientific education possible.

At this point we encounter too a new issue, made up for culture itself, that has possibly a greater significance than any mere culture in letters can ever be supposed to have. In these applications of science, the problem is to inaugurate in fact a new creatorship; and creatorship is a type of advancement that reaches far. Hitherto we have been occupied mainly with

the promise made of economic benefits. But these are only rude beginnings; better and higher things are to come after. What else do we now see in some of the facts just referred to, but that we are come already to a point where beauty of design, elegance of form, felicity and grace of composition, are more and more distinctly proved to be the *sine qua non* of success? And here it is that the true creative ability is to meet the final test; a test that is rigidly mental, requiring the sharpest and most subtle perceptions, tastes the most delicate, adjustments in the nicest skill and a piercing insight of nature's laws and properties, such as no mind, which has not somehow come into the eternal beauty, can ever hope to attain. And whether this kind of culture is not going some time even to exceed the classic refinement, is certainly no absurd question. The German people are a people admitted to be not surpassed in the accomplishments of letters and elegant scholarship; but there is a clear possibility that their new creatorship, begun in the applications of science, will sometime bring them to the flower in a more variously, multifariously creative beauty; even as God's own beauty flowered in the colors, the shapes, the articulated functions and the wondrously composed interplay of parts in the constitutive order of his work. Besides, there is a robustness of quality in this matter of creatorship that far exceeds the thin, second-hand way of classic imitation. It goes out among things, down into their subtleties, up along their heights, and

reads them through and through, as by some force of personal co-attainment. And then, as it is given to man for his highest distinction to be the new creator of the world, any people farthest advanced in creatorship will have the highest consciousness and know their fit honor as being in the completest form of life. Having nature, so to speak, in dominion, they will have the genuine exaltation of power; great sentiments too, that are not born of scholarship, and are only the better enunciated without classic quotations. And yet, being in affinity with all ornament, they will have the classics also; asking for more dead languages, not fewer, willing even to go back on the Sanscrit, if they may but know more perfectly the timbers and articulations of their own living tongue.

We come upon a question thus which is difficult, viz., what the schools or colleges of practical science are going to do for the training of mind?

And here I willingly yield, at the outset, the immense distinction between equipment and education, between the outfit of a worker among causes, and the education of a mind for power over mind. Education is confessedly what educes or draws out mind; hence the word. The colleges undertake to do it gymnastically; that is by a training in the ancient classics and the pure mathematics; adding a few branches of experimental science just to make a beginning of general intelligence. Study for study's sake is their law, and this kind of education they call lib-

eral, I suppose, because the pupil is not harnessed in it to any of life's labors. Having no thought as yet of ends or destinations, he is to be separated thus from the vulgar prejudices of the shop and the market and allowed to have his growth in a way more close to his own nature. And so, educated for no particular ends, he will be the better educated for all ends. Thus only, it is claimed, will the great scholars and elegant writers and the men most able to discuss learned questions be trained. All the universalized minds must have, it is said, this universalizing motherhood. No full round man can be educated in particular to this or that, and full round men we do amazingly want in all the walks of life.

But granting, as we may, the argument, it does not follow that if we propose something short of this we propose anything contrary to it. If we seem to propose an equipment and not an education, that equipment will be education, just according to the strain of mind-labor it has cost; and the imagining, thinking, combining power of the man may be drawn out even more energetically and effectually, than it would be by twice as many years of routine study. What gymnast, whether of body or mind, ever wrestles in such fierce application, as he that is in throes of labor to make out his great invention?

After all there is no patent way of making a mind, or preparing the out-birth of a great soul's power. It will grow by a pine-knot candle as well as by the classic lamp of a college. If it cannot be born out of

the highest advantages, then it will be out of such as it can have. We propose, in fact, a less complete and so far inferior course, in the school of practical science, because it will carry some really *superior* effects, begetting more precise ideas of things, giving the manege of nature's causes more perfectly, and letting the pupil farther in among them. As the term is to be shorter and more sharply set, we expect to work faster, and we have no doubt that a vast number of minds will be sprung for a great and grand history, that would otherwise never break fetter at all. It would not be strange if some of the very best professors of Latin and Greek should be darted forth out of these limited studies into just those improved methods of study which their own necessities have compelled, and for which all these ages have been waiting. We can never tell what a soul is going to break into, when it is once really started into action. It may even break into theology, asking leave of nobody!

But there is a way of speaking, on the part of certain adhesionists of the college method and the college ideas, that does not allow us even the modified indulgence here claimed. They speak, oftener than we like to hear them, even slightingly or contemptuously of studies that are for uses, as if these were the going after knowledge as a trade or to get a living by it. They do not consider how very close upon exactly this are the studies of the learned professions. Are they therefore sordid studies? Or are they culminations rather, where the young man, trained by lessons,

goes above them or beyond them, to find the uses in which their value lies? Besides, if it is a matter in point to make studies look contemptible, what is easier than to put the stupidest possible face on the college method by just calling it the dumb-bell method? For, what are we told, but that education is to make the mind's arms supple before the battle of life begins, by training them gymnastically, that is by studies for the study's sake, and what is that but the dumb-bell method?

Now all such arts of derogation are only tricks of speech and not arguments. At any rate, I undertake, in simple disregard of the first, to make downright assertion of the honors of practical science. Which in fact is nobler, grander to thought, and more god-like, science that beholds a use, or science that is only science? What in fact is the true honor of science itself, if it is not in the power it has to multiply good; to create wealth, to arm, and re-endow, and recompose, and re-create the world, making gods of men? And where has the world made heroes of a nobler kind, more bloodless, higher in achievement, conquerors in a grander key? Just the thing, indeed, to be admired in practical science, is that it is practical. And we want even great institutions endowed for it, simply because they will come bringing uses, even God's intended uses, when he put things into their laws, and laws into things.

In statements like these it will be seen that, while I give in readily to the superior advantages of the old

education as related to certain modes of culture, I am not afraid to claim for the new certain other advantages that, looking only to culture itself, weigh heavily in the scale. Let me take my liberty in tracing a little way some of these comparisons. And if I seem to speak one-sidedly, as an advocate, it will only be that I am righting up an equilibrium not yet adjusted.

The students of the college method are commonly entered at an early age, when they have as yet no conception formed of what they are going to be. The rich father has declared that his son Hopeful shall have the very best education money will buy. And then the problem of the college is,—alas! there is no problem in the high mathematics half as difficult,—how to give the boy such best education, when he does not himself care a fig whether it is good or bad. He is here, in fact, just because he could not as well be anywhere else. All such are going, of course, into prescribed studies, if any; and then we shall hear it as their fine distinction, that they are given to study only for the study's sake. Whereas, if they could speak for themselves, they would say how often, No, not for the study's sake, but for the dogged lesson's sake! These now are the drones of the college, and are going to be the graduated dullards and do-nothings of the liberal education. College life and society are largely infested by these insignificants, and the atmosphere is more or less untoned by them as regards everything in the nature of true application. In the

school of applied science there is no place for such. If they come into it, as flies into a trap, because experiment looks more tempting than study, they will scarcely dare to light, lest such drill of experiment should be the death of them. Young men coming in hither will be generally such as come with a *meaning*, and whoever has the grace to mean something is very likely *to be* something; having always a matter in hand to be done, by whatever study, industry, and close tension of faculty are needed.

The college course is oftenest commended, because it covers so great length of time,—ten years, at least, when the preparatory and subsequent professional studies are included,—but the commendation, generally good, is, I verily believe, a matter of real disadvantage to many. Short work is commonly sharp work, and long work is commonly dull. Kept so long out of life too, and trained so nearly in the cloister habit, the pupil's living nature is partly extirpated. So much study for study's sake, apart from life's feeling, and subject to the overweening authority of books and teachers, unnerves the will and dries away the juices and moist natural sympathies, which are often the really best talent a man has, leaving him a kind of manikin or lay-figure only of learning. He is educated partly out of his wits in being educated into them. His education is incubus, making all inspiration, all *abandon* of action, all fervors of high engagement forever after impossible. Certain high, strong, masculine natures will bear this half-age of

discipline and keep their mettle rising. Certain dry souls too, will go through this baking process of years, without becoming at all more dry. But the less positive and freer natures will, how often, be subjugated, or even stifled by it. A great many such, it costs nothing to believe, would do better trained by a shorter process ; better in the pulpit, better at the law ; even as some of our old-time Methodist preachers, trained in the saddle, saved their natural quantities to substitute their education, pouring them out full flood, till by and by they had learned gloriously how ; or as lawyers, beginning partly with a knack instead of a brief, go in to gain their causes by being causes themselves. In these scantier methods, the souls untrammeled take inspirations more easily, and are moved all the more nimbly and naturally that they qualify as experts, and not by indoctrination. And if they seem, for a time, to be too little polished by letters, they will commonly be polished afterwards by the rub of their engagements, and will learn, as Bunyan did, the uses of words by seeking words for their uses. They will, probably, have as much more impetus too, as they are educated closer to life's feeling and the concerns of the hour.

It was formerly a large defect in the academic method, and I fear it may be now, that it gave so little attention to the training of the senses and the sense-perceptions. It kept the pupil wholly at the book lesson-drill to give him the handle of his mind, and left him too often a good deal less able than

he should be to handle his hands. He has no practised eye. All his faculties worldward work confusedly still, as if they had nothing to do with his mind. Trained to no dashing out in chalk of plants, animals, organs, rock-formations and the like, he has no close observation of anything. He acquires dexterity and precision of motion from no closely exact adjustments of cameras and microscopes, and from no critically nice manipulations in chemistry, such as will save his experiments and his clothes. He probably writes a bad hand, and graduates a clumsy fumbler, left-handed in both hands, and scarcely more dexterous in his head; for no matter how good a scholar one may be in the classics, or the mathematics, if still he has no proper sense of colors, lines, and shapes, and no precise art of handling, or of touch, he will just so far be wanting in a genuine mental eye; and the fault will come out somewhere, in his law-point, or his deed of amputation, or it may be in his sermons.

Again, it will be found that the teaching of science in mere class-lessons, apart from experiment by the pupil, where that is possible, and apart from all uses of application, is the very worst method as respects the distinctness and real intelligence of the impressions given. The pure mathematics can be taught in that manner; for these, if learned at all, can only be accurately thought; but the science of things must be gotten out of things themselves; that is, by asking what they are for, what they are doing or will do? Besides, there is a large class of pupils whose nature

it is to be looking always most keenly after the uses of things, and who can only drop into utter listlessness and disappointment when put to the learning of them by routine lessons. Pupils of a different habit might take to such abstractive lessons more naturally, and might get a certain kind of knowledge by rote, but the more inquisitive practical sort will get distinctly nothing. In the beautiful science of chemistry, for example, illustrated by the most fascinatingly brilliant experiments, and quickening to thought as to the solid matter of the world itself, it is even mournful to see, from the answers of the college examinations, how little science mere spectatorship has taught. Muddle, —muddle only! No insight of ideas and laws, no science at all! Even bright, high-working minds get, how often, nothing but the lingo of it for diverting uses in the college yard. Science that it is of the mind under foot, most potentializing of all sciences in the causes it reveals, showing the atoms leaping to their laws and rushing as in fiery fervors of intelligence after their mates, how commonly is nothing gotten from it still for the mind's endowment! I speak the more properly thus, and with the better right, that my own experience in the matter testifies only of the truest personal advantage. For it happened that, with two or three others in a large class, I was taken by the science enough to get hold of the keys, and it has been with me ever since, meeting me at almost every turn, bringing new refreshments of example and dear suggestion, and pouring in more copious riches on me

than all the other more gymnastic studies of my course together. Indeed, I seem to have had these imponderable entities, these atomic yearnings, these inorganic half mystical forces keeping me company, and to have gone along, as it were, socially among them, where some other of my friends, better educated and more gifted, have been seeming only to see, but to get no sign. Most sad loss do they make who have gotten what they call the liberal accomplishments of classic study and missed the magic, world-transforming wealth of this one study.

They need not miss obtaining a very good knowledge of the science in the college course, and yet how commonly will they, when it is taught by no laboratory practice, and no manipulations of experiment conducted by themselves. Here their mind would be set to more than holding their eyes for a lecture, more than passing in a lesson,—to the harnessing of a power, and the discovering of things by their laws accurately enough to know what they will do, or what can be done with them and by them. And this girds them in so closely that their faculty is put in stress for exact comprehension, and their mental education, if we speak of that, is most solidly, soberly advanced; and the matters learned do not now go into mind to be lodged there as dead quantities that, being learned, are there entombed and done with, but as forces of onward impulsion and expectant vigor. It will be as if the steam power, the electric celerity, the fierce oxygen, the iron, were putting their strong nature into

the boy or the man, to be endowment and momentum for his works and character.

As in chemistry, so in mining, mineralogy, geology, engine-building, engineering,—these and all other sciences, between astronomy on one side and entomology on the other, will be studied best, most effectually felt out and sounded, in their uses and applications. They will not be shammed in this manner, and the students, going after them with appetite, will not have their minds debauched in them. And it will be a considerable advantage too, afterward, when they go out into life, that having been thus practically trained, they will not be laughed at as incapables of learning, but will be accepted as the true *Magistri Artium*, in the original and living sense of the degree.

And now, having spoken thus freely of points where the old education has its disadvantages, and the new its better advantages, will it be imagined or inferred by some that I am willing to take down the honors thus of the fuller, more protracted, and, in some possible respects, more fertilizing courses of the colleges heretofore in use? Far be it. I accept no such construction as that. I can think of it only as absurd. No, a true classic culture can never be antiquated, and if I seem to raise a crusade for the shorter methods of applied science, I do it in the clear understanding that such shorter methods are wanted, and that I am doing nothing against, but everything for the advancement of the old methods. For if we push the new education to its utmost efficiency, and far enough to

practically fill the whole tier of life for which it is organized, making every walk of industry and enterprise, every farm-house, factory, mine, trade, road, every shop of handicraft, every humblest toil, even down to the knife-grinder's lathe and fisherman's barrow, to feel its quickening touch of intelligence, the classic culture will only be as much more largely sought, and its courses as much more frequented, as the general underlift of mind is higher than it was before. And then as now, and now as then, *Mater Alma esto perpetua.*

But misgivings will be felt as regards still another department of life; viz., that of morals and religion.

And first of all, many alarmists will apprehend the incoming here of a new age of materialism. What, in fact, are we preparing here, they will ask, but to have the new age educated into materialism as completely as possible? As if the getting a science of matter were a coming under matter, and not the getting up of matter into mind, where it shall reveal its ideas and laws and prove itself a thought-born creature. True, there is a certain looking here, in these proposed studies, to matter, and that with more or less expectation. But if living in such expectation is the same thing as being materialized, it ought to have been fatally done a long time ago. What is matter for but to be used in ways of advantage? Do we not live in it? Are we not fastened to it as we are to our bodies, nay to our heads and faces? And what

has poor, pious agriculture been looking to, and digging in, from the first day till now? And what is land itself,—the vast land-wealth, outmeasuring all other properties together,—but a property in matter? What, in short, by the sentence of nature, do we use, occupy, wear, spend our life in, get our nutriment from, and bow down ourselves upon, but the matter-world we are put here to inhabit? Nay, we are here in matter too, for religion's sake; only never to be materialized by it, till we are buried and dissolved in it.

See again, distinctly, what high furniture of mind and spirit is coming up out of these material things. For what are words in their first stage, but names of material images, whether acts or objects, that meet us in the senses? Dropping thus our very thoughts into matter to be named, are we not going to be fatally sunk in it? So it would seem. No! for look again, and we shall see that the matter-born words have all a second sense related to mind, a power of expression by figure that makes them God-given symbols of thought and spirit and all the invisible things of invisible worlds. So forthwith we shoot them up into a higher tier of meanings for all mind-work, all truth and religion. The underpinning thus of the general fabric of words is matter, but it culminates airily in pinnacles of meaning that are the more grandly spiritual for the solid sense-work under them.

And what, again, do we now see as science advances, but that, as our single words were significant origi-

nally, because the stamps of God's intelligence were in their faces, so they are now going to be threaded and strung in the unity of reason, as the things themselves are threaded and strung by the laws going through them. Thus it would almost make up, even now, a new dictionary, to simply gather up the law-words of science that are getting a higher second sense as words of thought and spirit, drawn towards unity by the analogies of their own system; gravitation, for example, orbit, focus, centripetal and centrifugal, apogee and perigee, reflection and refraction, magnetic, electric, photographic, telegraphic, conduction, bipolar affinity, latent heat, static equilibrium, system, order, kosmos and a full thousand others used for the expression of supernatural ideas. Thus we speak of the bipolarities of subjects; or of the neutral salts of feeling, quiet as nitre till the fires of provocation touch them; or of geologic layers in civilization; or of souls that are exogenous or endogenous in their growth, blooming only in their own order. Now by all such words of law we are unifying more or less perceptibly the ideas and thoughts of mind they are used to express, approximating always that complete whole of intelligence in which they will be configured to, and accurately tempered by, each other. And what forbids that we thus form, at last, by the simple growth of language itself, untrammeled by logic and speculative art, a complete mind-system, answering to the system discovered in things? Is this the materializing of man, or is it rather the spiritualizing of the world?

Dismissing this, we pass on to another objection, viz., that in making so much of things and their scientific uses, we shall fall into a remorseless and dry rationalism, and even lose out the faculty of imagination itself. We shall educate ourselves out of poetry, out of all finest capacities of literature, and even out of religion. No, the matters of science are no dry bodiment of fact and speculative reason, such as the objection supposes. There is, in fact, no schooling for the imagination at all comparable, as regards richness and stimulating efficacy, save in religion itself. I once heard a commencement orator dealing heavy blows on the stupid and stupefying nurture given to children in books of natural history, and saying, in what seemed to him a brilliant sally: "Teach your children fairies rather, hobgoblins, sprites, good-fellows, put them in the Arabian Nights and bring them up no more among the beasts." That he thought would raise the true poetry in them, and prepare them even to believe in miracles! Whereas, if I am right, there is a far higher wonder-working and a sweeter magic in the spells of the life-power, growing matter into beasts and trees, and birds and flowers, out of germs so little like them, than in all the pretty nonsense of such fables; and that with the advantage that these more than romantic wonders are yet literally true. There is, in fact, more poetry and more to quicken the imagination, more mystery and rhythm and soul-quickening inspiration in the magic feats of organic chemistry, imposing its own

will on matter, as no human chemist can,—more, I say, in this one department of science, than in all the books of Homer together. There is no hymn for all the gods that has the music of this. And so it is just now beginning to appear in our later poets, that the deepest thoughts and freshest beauty and grandest inspiration of song are contributions, at bottom, from the revelations of science. And if it be science to think the thoughts of God and set them chiming in productive work, what else should be the result?

But we are proposing here to give a much larger place to science, relatively speaking, in the education of the coming age; and what is this, as things are looking now, some will ask, but to put the coming age at school in ways of unbelief? It is much to be regretted, certainly, if science is making issue with religion more frequently than it was; but for one, I have no least concern for the result. If there is no truth in religion, it must die of course, and may as well die soon. If there is truth in it, there is most assuredly no other truth in conflict with it. Besides, if there is any possibility of science in things, there is, by supposition, mind in things; for science is but intelligence discovering intelligence, mind rethinking the thoughts of mind everywhere present. To be thinkable they must have ends, uses, adaptations, geometries in their masses, arithmetic in their atoms, proportions, orbits, laws, otherwise they are but *chrononhotonthologos*, and there is no science of that. But since they are threaded with mentality all through,

and science is but finding the threads, since they are covered all over with stamps of intelligence, which means divine intelligence or nothing, it may as well be expected that the tides of the sea, swept out with a broom, will not return, as that religion will not, when thrust away by science. Let there be no feeble deprecation then of conflict or collision between science and religion, such as we sometimes hear on both sides. The braver way is better and more rational. No, let come what must: as long as there is matter of conflict, let conflict be: let the two grapple in the close interlock and wrestle together; and let the two get just what belongs to them as the battle edge divides to each.

Meantime I take a most particular pleasure in the advocacy of a way of education specially devoted to the applications of science, because of the conviction I feel, that our schools of application will be the best and most certain rectifiers possible of the unbelieving tendencies of science itself. The real fact is that our unbelievers and deniers in science prove their infirmity sometimes in the loss of their equilibrium. They are dazzled by their own splendors, just about to be, if not already, won. So much authority so long deferred to oversets the balance of their brain: and they think they can settle anything by their pronouncement, as other tyrants do, who have outgrown their measures; pitching in their authority thus on the great religious questions of ontology, soul-force, immateriality of spirit, freedom of the will, and the like, where theolo-

gians and metaphysicians have been toiling thousands of years; having no suspicion that they are become theologians and metaphysicians themselves, without even knowing the alphabet of the subjects. They get lifted also into moods of flightiness by their premature soaring on the wings of hypothesis, or the unripe guesses they propound as facts. As they multiply in numbers, they become hurried by their races with each other, thrusting out hypotheses that are occurrent, not established. In their zeal for precedence they quite forestall the honors it brings, setting up their flag on islands a little before they are discovered. Living thus in a kind of fire-work element, where opinions, conjectures, guesses, and brilliant hypotheses are bursting into flame all around the sky, the premature births of their discovery make more noise than the full-born truths.

Saying nothing, in this view, of the shallow sensation-mongers who are bolting out their discoveries yet unborn, and storming them in our faces just because they shake the faith of religion, let it waken no surprise if I say that of all the fifty or more points, where science is supposed to be most distinctly pitted against religion, I know not one where the matter advanced has come to be any matter of science at all, excepting only two or three where the constructions of religion have been easily accommodated already to the admitted discoveries. And it is exactly here, in this corrective sobering of hypotheses, that applied science, largely endeavored in our schools, will be adding just

the counterweights demanded. Applied science must be science, for anything in the nature of hypothesis, not verified by discovery, is but chaff as regards applications and uses. There is no romancing or vaporing here. Conjectures, unripe guesses, cannot turn a mill, or color a flower, or kindle auroral fires about the point of a magnet. Hydraulics for the imagination will not answer for water. Geologic theories, if that is all, will do no good work in the mines. Assays that are going to roast gold out of gunpowder will probably get something else. Not even clairvoyant revelations will be as good as telegraphic cables. All teaching here is held within the sober limits of discovery. What instruction is going to apply it must first solidly know, and the study of the pupil will be to find what *is*, not what possibly can be. The whole training here is practically bent, and the habit created is a habit of respect to what is practically established. And from that kind of habit, in the forward operative men of the future age, religion will have nothing to fear. Or if it be said that such limited courses of study, in the schools of applied science, will have a peril of their own, gendering a conceit the more mischievous because of its limitations; if we are reminded that a "little knowledge is a dangerous thing;" it is enough to reply that a great deal of knowledge which is not come to knowledge is a great deal more dangerous. A grand practical sobriety will get footing in this manner, and when it comes to rule in all the great affairs of industry and creative production, it will have

weight and body enough to sober the over-zealous flights of the discoverers. Assuming to be more scientific, they will begin to think they are less so; and it will be strange, if the men of applied science do not often equal them in the matter of discovery itself. For what can better prepare discovery than a fixed respect to facts, and a stringent attention to their uses? On this ground we are even to expect, not better inventions only and uses, but a more vigorous growth in science itself. And withal it will add as much vigor to religion as it does to common life and science.

On the whole, I know not anything in this training of practical science that can well discourage faith in its moral and religious tendencies, unless it be, where that is true, that it proposes no moral supervision of the pupils, and no religious observances. And what, in this view, can afford a better compensation, or more effectually meet a most real want of the age itself, than to have a professorship added on the applications of science to religion? It must be filled by a man capable of such high themes, and why not have him lecture on them every Sunday, connecting with his lecture some fit observance of worship, and a free questioning or debate of all the students and professors on all the questions put in issue? What is the world now waiting for, but just this scientific confidence in religion, and this always truth-confirming, liquidating power?

I have only to add now, in closing, a few words

concerning the advantages added to character, in its most ennobled forms, by the proposed training in practical science. The very thing studied is to bring all nature under power, and by that means to double, or quadruple, or even to twentyfold the quantity of being in the men. Hitherto we have had small men living in small character, partly because they have had no grand dominion of property in the world, such as belongs to them. But when they get all causes under, they will have a towering property in their functions, and may have a like towering stature in their virtues. For it happens that what is thus a training into power is a training also into order, the order of law and of things in law. Order is next thing to principle; and scientific order, by a hidden law of sympathy, favors all virtue: character, in fact, is only order in mind. And again, order in mind will link itself with a perpetual assent to law, breeding reverence to all most fixed convictions of right, even as to the fixed laws applied by science itself. The classics are controvertible and variable in whatever stamp is gotten from them, because they are human; and we may therefore well enough admit that a classical training can work finer tastes and finishes, a little way off from the severities of principle, producing a freer *abandon* and a more gracefully captivating, altogether human play; but for just that reason they can never endow a true great soul in the noblest quantities of power, and the inflexible majesty of right.

Only science and the scientific order can set merit

first, and make ornament the garnish of merit; only these can truly enthrone the sober laws of use, turning politics into statesmanship, ruling out cabal and faction, rebuilding society thus in terms of order and truth, sanctified by justice and crowned by religion. This, if I am right, is character; and having thus all works and workmen headed by the supervision of character, a new great age of character only can result; a consummation that may fitly gladden the expectant eyes of all good men.

III.

COMMON SCHOOLS.*

Lev. 24:22. Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country: for I am the Lord your God.

It is my very uncommon privilege and pleasure to speak to you, for once, from a text already fulfilled, and more than fulfilled, in the observance. For we, as a people or nation, have not only abstained from passing laws that are unequal, or hard upon strangers, which is what the rule of the text forbids, but we have invited them to become fellow-citizens with us in our privileges, and bestowed upon them all the rights and immunities of citizens. We have said to the strangers from Germany, France, Switzerland, Norway, Ireland, and indeed of every land: "Come and be Americans with us, you and your children; and whatsoever right or benefit we have, in our free institutions and our vast and fertile domain, shall be yours."

Thus invited, thus admitted to an equal footing

* Delivered in the North Church, Hartford, as a Fast Day Discourse, March 25, 1853.

with us, they are not content, but are just now returning our generosity by insisting that we must excuse them and their children from being wholly and properly American. They will not have one law for us and for themselves, but they demand immunities that are peculiar to themselves, and before unheard of by us; or else that we wholly give up institutions for their sake that are the dearest privileges of our birthright. They accept the common rights of the law, the common powers of voting, the common terms of property, a common privilege in the new lands and the mines of gold, but when they come to the matter of common schools, they will not be common with us there; they require of us, instead, either to give up our common schools, or else, which in fact amounts to the same thing, to hand over their proportion of the public money and let them use it for such kind of schools, as they happen to like best; ecclesiastical schools, whether German, French, or Irish; any kind of schools but such as are American and will make Americans of their children.

It has been clear for some years past, from the demonstrations of our Catholic clergy and their people, but particularly of the clergy, that they were preparing for an assault upon the common school system, hitherto in so great favor with our countrymen; complaining, first, of the Bible as a sectarian book in the schools, and then, as their complaints have begun to be accommodated by modifications that amount to a discontinuance, more or less complete, of

religious instruction itself, of our "godless scheme of education;" to which (as godless only as they have required it to be,) they say they cannot surrender their children without a virtual sacrifice of all religion. Growing more hopeful of their ability, by the heavy vote they can wield, to turn the scale of an election one way or the other between opposing parties, and counting on the sway they can thus exert over the popular leaders and candidates, they have lately attempted a revolution of the school system of Michigan, and are now memorializing the legislatures of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and urging it on the people of these States to allow a change or modification of theirs that amounts to a real discontinuance; viz., to make a distribution of the public school money to all existing schools, of whatever description, according to the number of their scholars; and the moment this is done, plainly nothing will be left of the common school system but a common fund, gathered by a common tax on property, to support private schools.

Evidently the time has now come, and the issue of life or death to common schools is joined for trial. The ground is taken, the flag is raised, and there is to be no cessation till the question is forever decided whether we are to have common schools in our country or not. And accordingly, it is time for us all, citizens, public men, and Christians, to be finding the ground on which we expect and may be able to stand. In one view the question is wholly a religious question; in another it is more immediately a civil or

political question. And yet the lines cross each other in so many ways that any proper discussion of the topic must cover both aspects or departments, the religious and the political. I take up the question at this early period, before it has become, in any sense, a party question, that I may have the advantage of greater freedom, and that I may suffer no imputation of a party bias to detain me from saying anything which pertains to a complete view of the subject.

As this day of fasting is itself a civil appointment, I have always made it a point to occupy the day, in part, with some subject that pertains to the public duties and religious concerns of the State or nation. I propose, therefore, now to anticipate, as it were, the pressure of this great subject, and discharge myself, once for all, of my whole duty concerning it; and I hope to speak of it under that sense of responsibility, as well as in that freedom from prejudice, which one of the greatest and most serious of all American subjects requires. I wish I might also speak in a manner to exclude any narrow and partial or sectarian views of it, such as time and the further consideration of years might induce a wish to qualify or amend.

I will now undertake to say that our Catholic friends have, in no case, any just reason for uneasiness or complaint. A great many persons and even communities will very naturally act, for a time, as power is able to act, and will rather take counsel of their prejudices than of reason, or of the great principles that underlie our American institutions. Considera-

tion, as a rectifying power, is often tardy in its coming, and of course there will be something unrectified, for so long a time, in the matter that waits for its arrival.

Meantime the subject itself is one of some inherent difficulty, and cannot be expected to settle itself upon its right foundation, without some delay or some agitation, more or less protracted, of its opposing interests and reasons. We began our history in all but the single colony of Baltimore, as Protestant communities; and in those especially of New England, we have had the common school as a fundamental institution from the first,—in our view a Protestant institution,—associated with all our religious convictions, opinions, and the public sentiment of our Protestant society. We are still, as Americans, a Protestant people, and many are entirely ignorant as yet of the fact that we are not still Protestant States also, as at the first; Protestant, that is, in our civil order and the political fabric of our government. And yet we very plainly are not. We have made a great transition; made it silently and imperceptibly, and scarcely know as yet that it is made. Occupied wholly with a historic view of the case, considering how the country and its institutions are historically speaking ours; the liberality and kindness we have shown to those who have come more recently to join us, and are even now heard speaking in a foreign accent among us; the asylum we have generously opened for them and their children; the immense

political trust we have committed to them, in setting them on a common footing, as voters, with ourselves; and that now we offer to give a free education to their children, at the public expense, or by a tax on all the property of the state,—considering all this, and that we and our fathers are Protestants, it seems to be quite natural and right, or even a matter of course, that our common schools should remain Protestant and retain their ancient footing undisturbed.

But we shall find, on a second consideration, that we have really agreed for something different, and that now we have none to complain of but ourselves, if we have engaged for more than it is altogether pleasant to yield. Our engagement, in the large view of it, is to make the state or political order a platform of equal right to all sects and denominations of Christians. We have slid off, imperceptibly, from the old Puritan, upon an American basis, and have undertaken to inaugurate a form of political order that holds no formal church connection. The properly Puritan common school is already quite gone by; the intermixture of Methodists, Quakers, Unitarians, Episcopalians, and diverse other names of Christians called Protestants, has burst the capsule of Puritanism, and as far as the schools are concerned it is quite passed away; even the Westminster catechism is gone by, to be taught in the schools no more. In precisely the same manner, have we undertaken also to loosen the bonds of Protestantism in the schools, when the time demanding it arrives. To this we are

mortgaged by our great American doctrine itself, and there is no way to escape the obligation but to renounce the doctrine, and resume, if we can, the forms and lost prerogatives of a state religion.

But there is one thing, and a very great thing, that we have not lost, nor agreed to yield; viz., *Common Schools.* Here we may take our stand, and upon this we may insist as being a great American institution; one that has its beginnings with our history itself; one that is inseparably joined to the fortunes of the republic; and one that can never wax old, or be discontinued in its rights and reasons, till the pillars of the state are themselves cloven down forever. We cannot have Puritan common schools; these are gone already. We cannot have Protestant common schools, or those which are distinctively so. But we can have common schools, and these we must agree to have and maintain till the last or latest day of our liberties. These are American, as our liberties themselves are American; and whoever requires of us, whether directly or by implication, to give them up, requires what is more than our bond promises, and what is, in fact, a real affront to our name and birthright as a people.

I mean, of course, by common schools, when I thus speak, schools for the children of all classes, sects, and denominations of the people; so far perfected in their range of culture and mental and moral discipline, that it shall be the interest of all to attend, as being the best schools which can be found; clear too,

of any such objections as may furnish a just ground of offense to the conscience or the religious scruples of any Christian body of our people. I mean, too, schools that are established by the public law of the state, supported at the public expense, organized and superintended by public authority. Of course it is implied that the schools shall be under laws that are general, in the same way as the laws of roads, records, and military service; that no distribution shall be made, in a way of exception, to schools that are private, ecclesiastical or parochial; that whatever accommodations are made to different forms of religion, shall be so made as to be equally available to all; that the right of separate religious instruction, the supervision, the choice of teachers, the selection of books, shall be provided for under fixed conditions, and so as to maintain the fixed rule of majorities, in all questions left for the decision of districts. The schools, in other words, shall be common, in just the same sense that all the laws are common, so that the experience of families and of children under them shall be an experience of the great republican rule of majorities; an exercise for majorities of obedience to fixed statutes, and of moderation and impartial respect to the rights and feelings of minorities; an exercise for minorities of patience and of loyal assent to the will of majorities; a schooling, in that manner, which begins at the earliest moment possible, in the rules of American law and the duties of an American citizen.

And this, I undertake to say, is the institution which we are not for any reason to surrender, but to hold fast as being a necessary and fixed element of the public order, one without which our American laws and liberties are scarcely American longer; or, if we call them by that name, have no ground longer of security and consolidated public unity.

In the first place, it will be found, if we closely inspect our institutions, that the common school is, in fact, an integral part of the civil order. It is no eleemosynary institution, erected outside of the state, but is itself a part of the public law, as truly so as the legislatures and judicial courts. The schoolhouses are a public property, the district committees are civil officers, the teachers are as truly functionaries of the law as the constables, prison-keepers, inspectors, and coroners. We perceive then, if we understand the question rightly, that an application against common schools, is so far an application for the dismemberment and reorganization of the civil order of the state. Certain religionists appear, in the name of religion, demanding that the state shall be otherwise constructed. Or if it be said that they do not ask for the discontinuance of the common schools, but only to have a part of the funds bestowed upon their ecclesiastical schools, the case is not mended but rather made worse by the qualification; for in that view they are asking that a part of the funds which belong to the civil organization shall be paid

over to their religion, or to the *imperium in imperio* which their religion so far substitutes for the civil order. It is as if they were to ask that the health-wardens should so far be substituted by their church-wardens, or the coroner's inquest by their confessional, and that the state, acknowledging their right to the substitution demanded, should fee the church-wardens and confessors in their behalf. If an application that infringes on the civil polity of our States, in a manner so odious, is to be heard, the civil order may as well be disbanded, and the people given over to their ecclesiastics, to be ruled by them in as many clans of religion as they see fit to make. Are we ready, as Americans, to yield our institutions up in this manner, or to make them paymasters to a sect who will so far dismember their integrity?

This great institution too, of common schools, is not only a part of the state, but is imperiously wanted as such, for the common training of so many classes and conditions of people. There needs to be some place where, in early childhood, they may be brought together and made acquainted with each other; thus to wear away the sense of distance, otherwise certain to become an established animosity of orders; to form friendships; to be exercised together on a common footing of ingenuous rivalry; the children of the rich to feel the power and do honor to the struggles of merit in the lowly, when it rises above them; the children of the poor to learn the force of merit and feel the benign encouragement yielded by its blame-

less victories. · Indeed, no child can be said to be well-trained, especially no male child, who has not met the people as they are, above him or below, in the seatings, plays, and studies of the common school. Without this he can never be a fully qualified citizen, or prepared to act his part wisely as a citizen. Confined to a select school, where only the children of wealth and distinction are gathered, he will not know the merit there is in the real virtues of the poor, or the power that slumbers in their talent. He will take his better dress as a token of his better quality, look down upon the children of the lowly with an educated contempt, prepare to take on lofty airs of confidence and presumption afterward; finally, to make the discovery when it is too late, that poverty has been the sturdy nurse of talent in some unhonored youth who comes up to affront him by an equal, or mortify and crush him by an overmastering, force. So also the children of the poor and lowly, if they should be privately educated in some inferior degree by the honest and faithful exertion of their parents; secreted, as it were, in some back alley or obscure corner of the town, will either grow up in a fierce, inbred hatred of the wealthier classes, or else in a mind cowed by undue modesty, as being of another and inferior quality, unable therefore to fight the great battle of life hopefully, and counting it a kind of presumption to think that they can force their way upward, even by merit itself.

Without common schools, the disadvantage falls

both ways in about equal degrees, and the disadvantage that accrues to the state, in the loss of so much character and so many cross ties of mutual respect and generous appreciation, the embittering so fatally of all outward distinctions, and the propagation of so many misunderstandings, righted only by the immense public mischiefs that follow,—this, I say, is greater even than the disadvantages accruing to the classes themselves; a disadvantage that weakens immensely the security of the state and even of its liberties. Indeed, I seriously doubt whether any system of popular government can stand the shock, for any length of time, of that fierce animosity that is certain to be gendered where the children are trained up wholly in their classes, and never brought together to feel, understand, appreciate, and respect each other, on the common footing of merit and of native talent, in a common school. Falling back thus on the test of merit and of native force, at an early period of life, moderates immensely their valuation of mere conventionalities and of the accidents of fortune, and puts them in a way of deference that is genuine as well as necessary to their common peace in the state. Common schools are nurseries thus of a free republic; private schools, of factions, cabals, agrarian laws, and contests of force. Therefore, I say, we must have common schools; they are American, indispensable to our American institutions, and must not be yielded for any consideration smaller than the price of our liberties.

Nor is it only in this manner that they are seen to be necessary. The same argument holds, with even greater force, when applied to the religious distinctions of our country. It is very plain that we cannot have common schools for the purposes above named, if we make distributions, whether of schools or of funds, under sectarian or ecclesiastical distinctions. At that moment the charm and very much of the reality of common schools vanish. Besides, the ecclesiastical distinctions are themselves distinctions also of classes, in another form, and such too as are much more dangerous than any distinctions of wealth. Let the Catholic children, for example, be driven out of our schools by unjust trespasses on their religion, or be withdrawn for mere pretexts that have no foundation, and just there commences a training in religious antipathies bitter as the grave. Never brought close enough to know each other, the children, subject to the great well-known principle that whatever is unknown is magnified by the darkness it is under, have all their prejudices and repugnances magnified a thousand fold. They grow up in the conviction that there is nothing but evil in each other, and close to that lies the inference that they are right in doing what evil to each other they please. I complain not of the fact that they are not assimilated, but of what is far more dishonest and wicked, that they are not allowed to understand each other. They are brought up, in fact, for misunderstanding; separated that they may misunderstand each other; kept apart, walled up to heaven

in the inclosures of their sects, that they may be as ignorant of each other, as inimical, as incapable of love and cordial good citizenship as possible. The arrangement is not only unchristian, but it is thoroughly un-American, hostile at every point to our institutions themselves. No bitterness is so bitter, no seed of faction so rank, no division so irreconcilable, as that which grows out of religious distinctions sharpened to religious animosities, and softened by no terms of intercourse; the more bitter when it begins with childhood; and yet more bitter when it is exasperated also by distinctions of property and social life that correspond; and yet more bitter still, when it is aggravated also by distinctions of stock or nation.

In this latter view, the withdrawing of our Catholic children from the common schools, unless for some real breach upon their religion, and the distribution demanded of public moneys to them in schools apart by themselves, is a bitter cruelty to the children and a very unjust affront to our institutions. We bid them welcome as they come, and open to their free possession all the rights of our American citizenship. They, in return, forbid their children to be Americans, pen them as foreigners to keep them so, and train them up in the speech of Ashdod among us. And then, to complete the affront, they come to our legislatures demanding it as their right to share in funds collected by a taxing of the whole people, and to have these funds applied to the purpose of keeping their children from being Americans.

Our only answer to such demands is: "No! take your place with us in our common schools, and consent to be Americans, or else go back to Turkey, where Mohammedans, Greeks, Armenians, Jews are walled up by the laws themselves, forbidding them ever to pass over or to change their superstitions; there to take your chances of liberty, such as a people are capable of when they are trained up, as regards each other, to be foreigners for all coming time in blood and religion." I said, go back to Turkey: that is unnecessary. If we do not soon prepare a state of Turkish order and felicity here, by separating and folding our children thus, in the stringent limits of religious non-acquaintance and consequent animosity, it will be because the laws of human nature and society have failed.

Besides, there are other consequences of such a breach upon the common school system, implied in yielding this demand, which are not to be suffered. A very great part of the children, thus educated, will have very inferior advantages. They will be shut up in schools that do not teach them what, as Americans, they most of all need to know, the political geography and political history of the world, the rights of humanity, the struggles by which those rights are vindicated and the glorious rewards of liberty and social advancement that follow. They will be instructed mainly into the foreign prejudices and superstitions of their fathers, and the state, which proposes to be clear of all sectarian affinities in religion, will pay the bills!

It will also be demanded, next, that the state shall hold the purse for the followers of Tom Paine and all other infidels, discharging the bills of schools where Paine's Age of Reason, or the Mormon Bible, or Davis's Revelations are the reading books of the children.

The old school Presbyterian church took ground, six years ago, in their General Assembly, at the crisis of their high church zeal, against common and in favor of parochial schools. Hitherto their agitation has yielded little more than a degree of discouragement and disrespect to the schools of their country; but if the Catholics prevail in their attempt, they also will be forward in demanding the same rights, upon the same grounds, and their claim also must be granted. By that time the whole system of common schools is fatally shaken. For since education is thrown thus far upon the care of individual parents, still another result is certain to follow in close proximity, viz., the discontinuance of all common schools and of all public care of education; and then we shall have large masses of children growing up in neglect, with no school at all provided to which they can be sent; ignorant, hopeless, and debased creatures; banditti of the street; wild men of anarchy, waiting for their leaders and the guerilla practice of the mountains: at first the pest of society, and finally its end or overthrow. This result will be further expedited by the fact that many children, now in our public schools, will be gathered into schools of an atheistic or half pagan character, where they will be

educated in a contempt of all order and decency, to be leaders of the ignorance and brutality supplied by the uneducated. How different the picture from that which is now presented by our beautiful system of common schools,—every child provided with a good school, all classes and conditions brought together on an equal footing of respect and merit, the state their foster-mother, all property a willing and glad contributor for their outfit in life and their success in the ways of intelligence and virtue!

Take it then for a point established, that common schools are to remain as common schools, and that these are to be maintained by the state as carefully as the arsenals and armed defenses of the country; these and no other. Just here, then, comes the difficult question, what are we to do, how to accommodate the religious distinctions of the people, so as to make their union in any common system of schools possible? How the Catholics, in particular, are to be accommodated in their religion, in those societies and districts where Protestants are the majority; how Protestants, where Catholics are the majority?

The question, how Pagans, Mohammedans, and Atheists are to be accommodated, is in my view a different question, and one, I think, which is to be answered in a different manner. They are to be tolerated or suffered, but in no case to be assisted or accommodated by acts of public conformity. I can not agree to the sentiment sometimes advanced, that

we are not a Christian nation in distinction from a Pagan, Mohammedan, or Infidel. Indeed I will go further; assuming the fact of God's existence, I will say that no government can write a legitimate enactment or pass a valid decree of separation from God. Still, after the act is done, God exists. God is the only foundation it has of public right or authority. The state, indeed, is a fiction, a lie, and no state, save as it stands in him. And then as Christianity is only the complete revelation of God, otherwise only partially revealed, it follows that the state cannot be less than a Christian state, cannot any more disown or throw off its obligations to be Christian than an individual can. Nor in fact has our government ever attempted to shake off Christianity, but has always, from the first day till now, taken the attitude and character of a Christian commonwealth; accepting the Christian Sabbath, appointing fasts and thanksgivings, employing military and legislative chaplains, and acknowledging God by manifold other tokens. Accordingly our schools are, to the same extent, and are to be, Christian schools. This is the American principle, and as we have never disowned God and Christ, as a point of liberty in the state or to accommodate unbelievers, so we are required by no principle of American right or law to make our schools unchristian, to accommodate Turks and Pagans, or rejecters and infidels.

Common schools, then, are to be Christian schools. How Christian? In the same sense, I answer, that

Catholics and Protestants are Christians, in the same sense that our government is Christian, in the same sense that Christendom is Christian, that is, in the recognition of God and Christ and providence and the Bible. I fully agree with our Catholic friends regarding what they say in deprecation of a godless system of education. Dr. Chalmers, engaged in a society to establish Catholic schools in Glasgow, went so far as to say, that if he had not been able to obtain "favorable terms from the priest, that is, the liberty of making the Bible a school-book," he would still have persevered, "on the principle that a Catholic population, with the capacity of reading, are a more hopeful subject than without it." Perhaps he was right, but the statistics reported in France, a few years ago, showing that public crimes, in the different departments, were very nearly in the ratio of education, increasing too in the ratio of the increase of education, are sufficient to throw a heavy shade of doubt on the value of all attempts to educate, that increase the power of men and add no regulative force of principle and character. It is, to say the least, a most perilous kind of beneficence. The chances are far too great that knowledge, without principle, will turn out to be only the equipment of knaves and felons.

The greater reason is there that our Catholic fellow-citizens should not do what they can to separate all the schools of the nation from Christian truth and influence, by requiring a surrender of everything Christian in the schools, to accommodate their secta-

rian position. Or if they reply that they would wholly supplant the common schools, leaving only parochial and sectarian schools in their place, on the ground that our government cannot, without some infringement on religion, be made to coalesce with anything Christian, then is it seen they are endeavoring to make the state "godless" in order to make the school Christian. Exactly this, indeed, one of their most distinguished and capable teachers in Pennsylvania is just now engaged to effect; insisting that the civil state has no right to educate children at all; not only controverting a constituent element of our civil order, but claiming it as a Christian right that the state shall exercise no Christian function. Which then is better, a godless government or a godless school? And if his own church will not suffer a godless school, what has it more earnestly insisted on than the horrible impiety of a state separated from God and religion, and the consequent duty of all kings and magistrates to be servants and defenders of the church? The Catholic doctrine is plainly in a dilemma here, and can noway be accommodated. If the state is godless, then it should as certainly withdraw from that as from the school, which, if it persists in doing, it as certainly does what it can, under the pretext of religion, to empty both the state and the schools of all religion.

The true ideal state manifestly is, one school and one Christianity. But it does not follow that we are to have as many schools as we have distinct views of

Christianity, because we have not so many distinct Christianities. Nor is anything more cruel and abominable than to take the little children apart, whom Christ embraced so freely, and make them parties to all our grown-up discords, whom Christ made one with himself and each other in their lovelier and, God forgive us if perchance it also be, their wiser age. Let us draw near rather to the common Christ we profess, doing it through them and for their sake, and see if we cannot find how to set them together under Christ as his common flock.

In most of our American communities, especially those which are older and more homogeneous, we have no difficulty in retaining the Bible in the schools and doing everything necessary to a sound Christian training. Nor, in the larger cities and the more recent settlements, where the population is partly Catholic, is there any the least difficulty in arranging a plan so as to yield the accommodation they need, if only there were a real disposition on both sides to have the arrangement. And precisely here, I suspect, is the main difficulty. There may have been a want of consideration sometimes manifested on the Protestant side, or a willingness to thrust our own forms of religious teaching on the children of Catholics. Wherever we have insisted on retaining the Protestant Bible as a school book, and making the use of it by the children of Catholic families compulsory, there has been good reason for complaining of our intolerance. But there is a much greater difficulty, I fear, and more in-

vincible, on the other side. In New York, the Catholics complained of the reading of the Protestant Scriptures in the schools, and of the text-books employed, some of which contained hard expressions against the Catholic church. The Bible was accordingly withdrawn from the schools and all religious instruction discontinued. The text-books of the schools were sent directly to Archbishop Hughes in person, to receive exactly such expurgations as he and his clergy would direct. They declined the offer by a very slender evasion, and it was afterward found that some of the books complained of were in actual use in their own church schools, though already removed from the schools of the city. Meantime, the immense and very questionable sacrifice thus made, to accommodate the complaints of the Catholics, resulted in no discontinuance of their schools, neither in any important accession to the common schools of the city from the children of Catholic families. On the contrary, the priests now change their note and begin to complain that the schools are "godless" or "atheistical"; just as they have required them to be. In facts like these, fortified by the fact that some of the priests are even denying, in public lectures, the right of the state to educate children at all, we seem to discover an absolute determination that the children shall be withdrawn, at whatever cost, and that no terms of accommodation shall be satisfactory. It is not that satisfaction is impossible, but that there is really no desire for it. Were there any desire, the

ways in which it may be accomplished are many and various.

1. Make the use of the Bible in the Protestant or Douay version optional.

2. Compile a book of Scripture reading lessons by agreement from both versions.

3. Provide for religious instruction, at given hours or on a given day, by the clergy or by qualified teachers such as the parents may choose.

4. Prepare a book of Christian morality, distinct from a doctrine of religion or a faith, which shall be taught indiscriminately to all the scholars.*

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*I am not aware of any attempt that has hitherto been made to adjust an agreement on the basis of this distinction. The following beautiful card, prepared by Archbishop Whately, to be conspicuously printed and hung in the Irish schools, was accepted by the whole Board, including the Catholic Archbishop; in which we have, at once, an example of what I mean by the distinction stated, and also a proof that, so far at least, the distinction is available as a basis of agreement.

"Christians should endeavor, as the Apostle Paul commands them, to 'live peaceably with all men' (Rom. ch. xii, v. 18), even with those of a different religious persuasion."

"Our Saviour Christ commanded his disciples 'to love one another.' He taught them to love even their enemies, to bless those that cursed them, and pray for those that persecuted them. He himself prayed for his murderers."

"Many men hold erroneous doctrines; but we ought not to hate or persecute them. We ought to seek for the truth, and to hold fast what we are convinced is the truth; but not to treat harshly those who are in error. Jesus Christ did not intend his religion to be forced on men by violent means. He would not allow his disciples to fight for him."

Out of these and other elements like these it is not difficult to construct, by agreement, such a plan as

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"If any persons treat us unkindly, we must not do the same to them, for Christ and his apostles have taught us not to return evil for evil. If we would obey Christ, we must do to others, not as they do to us, but as we would wish them to do to us."

"Quarreling with our neighbors, and abusing them, is not the way to convince them that we are in the right and they in the wrong. It is more likely to convince them that we have not a Christian spirit."

"We ought to show ourselves followers of Christ, who 'when he was reviled, reviled not again,' (1 Pet. ch. ii, v. 23,) by behaving gently and kindly to every one."

If I rightly understand, it is over Christianity as a faith, a divine mystery, that the Catholic Church claims a more especial jurisdiction, and not over the preceptive rules of conduct on the common footing of intercourse and society. Otherwise it must also assume a jurisdiction over many things in the province even of the common law, such as theft, perjury, slander, and all moral definitions that turn upon the question of "malice aforethought." And if it can not submit to any common teaching on these points, how can it submit to the jurisdiction of the state itself without an equal infringement of its prerogative? Is it then impossible to prepare a volume, in the manner of the above card, which, without entering into any matter that pertains to Christianity as a faith, or a grace of salvation, will yet comprise everything that pertains to the relative conditions of life, and even to God's authority concerning them;—the Christian rules of forgiveness, gentleness, forbearance, docility, modesty, charity, truth, justice, temperance, industry, reverence toward God, drawn out in chapters, and formally developed; large extracts from the preceptive parts of the Bible, and its moral teachings; from the Proverbs of Solomon, from the histories of Joseph and Haman, from the history of Jesus in his trial and crucifixion taken as an example of conduct, from the moral teachings also of his sermon on the mount, the parable of the good Samaritan, the rule of the lowest seat, and other like

will be Christian, and will not infringe, in the least, upon the tenets of either party, the Protestant or the Catholic. It has been done in Holland and, where it was much more difficult, in Ireland. The British government, undertaking at last, in good faith, to construct a plan of national education for Ireland, appointed Archbishop Whately and the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin with five others, one a Presbyterian and one a Unitarian, to be a board or committee of superintendence. They agreed upon a selection of reading lessons from both translations of the Scriptures, and, by means of a system of restrictions and qualifications carefully arranged, providing for distinct methods and times of religious instruction, they were able to construct a union, not godless or negative, but thoroughly Christian in its character, and so to draw as many as 500,000 of the children into the public schools; conferring thus upon the poor, neglected, and hitherto oppressed Irish, greater benefits than they have before received from any and all public measures since the Conquest.

I can not go into the particulars of this adjust-

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expositions; enlivened also by those picturesque representations of Scripture that display the manner of human nature in matters of moral conduct, such as the parable of Jotham, the story of the ewe lamb, and the judgment of Solomon? In this way Christianity would have a clear and well-ascertained place in the schools. A Christian conscience would be formed, and a habit of religious reverence. And though we could wish for something more, we might safely leave the higher mysteries of faith and salvation to be taught elsewhere.

ment, neither is it necessary. Whoever will take pains to trace out the particular features of the plan, will see that such an adjustment is possible. Enough is it for the present to say that what has been can be, and that if there is a real and true desire in the two parties to this coming controversy, to settle any plan that will unite and satisfy them both, it will be done. It may never be done in such a manner as to silence all opposition or attack from the ultra-Protestant party on one side, and the ultra-Catholic on the other. Bigotry will have its way and will assuredly act in character here, as it has in all ages past and does in Ireland now. The cry will be raised on one side, that the Bible is given up because it is read only at the option of the parents, or because only extracts from it are read, though the extracts amount to nearly the whole book, or because they are, some of them, made from the Catholic and some from the Protestant version; whereas, if only this or that catechism were taught, with not a word of Scripture, no complaint of a loss of the Bible would be heard of; or if the Psalter translation were read, instead of the Psalms, it would be regarded as no subject of complaint at all. On the other, the Catholic side, it will be insisted that the church authority is given up, though every word and teaching is by and from it, or that religion itself is corrupted by the profane mixtures of a Protestant proximity and intercourse. Probably the bigots, on both sides, will have much to say in deprecation of the "godless system of education," and yet there will

be more religious teaching and more impression made of true religion, by that cordial and Christian adjustment of differences which brings the children of two hostile bands together in this manner, than by whole days and weeks of drill and catechism in separate schools.

There is a great deal of cant in this complaint of godless education, or the defect of religious instruction in schools, as Baptist Noel, Dr. Vaughan and other distinguished English writers have abundantly shown. It is not, of course, religious instruction for a child to be drilled, year upon year, in spelling out the words of the Bible, as a reading book; it may be only an exercise that answers the problem how to dull the mind most effectually to all sense of the Scripture words, and communicate least of their meaning. Nay, if the Scriptures were entirely excluded from the schools, and all formal teaching of religious doctrine, I would yet undertake, if I could have my liberty as a teacher, to communicate more of real Christian truth to a Catholic and a Protestant boy, seated side by side, in the regulation of their treatment of each other, as related in terms of justice and charity, and their government as members of the school community, where truth, order, industry, and obedience are duties laid upon the conscience under God, than they will ever draw from any catechism or have worn into their brain by the dull and stammering exercise of a Scripture reading lesson. The Irish schools have a distinct Christian character, only not as distinctly sectarian

as if they were wholly Protestant or wholly Catholic. They are Christian schools, such as ours may be and ought to be, and, I trust, will be to the latest generations, nor any the less so that they are common schools.

Neither is it to be imagined or felt that religion has lost its place in the scheme of education, because the Scriptures are not read as a stated and compulsory exercise, or because the higher mysteries of Christianity as a faith or doctrine of salvation are not generally taught, but only the Christian rules of conduct, as pertaining to the common relations of duty under God. What is wanting may still be provided for, only less adequately, in other places; at home, in the church, or in lessons given by the clergy. It is not as when children are committed to a given school, like the Girard College, for example, there to receive their whole training, and where, if it excludes religion, they have no religious training at all.

I do then take the ground, and upon this I insist, as the true American ground, that we are to have common schools, and never to give them up for any purpose, or in obedience to any demand whatever; never to give them up, either by formal surrender, or by implication, as by a distribution of moneys to ecclesiastical and sectarian schools. The state can not distribute funds, in this manner, without renouncing even a first principle of our American institutions, and becoming the supporter of a sect in religion. It may as well support the priests of a church, as support the

schools of a church, separated from other schools, for the very purpose of being subjected to the priests.

But while we are firm in this attitude and hold it as a point immovable, we must, for that very reason, be the more ready to do justice to the religious convictions of all parties or sects, and to yield them such concessions, or enter into such arrangements as will accommodate their peculiar principles and clear them of any infringement.

But it will be objected by some, that while this should be done, provided there were any thing to hope from it, there is really no hope that our concessions or modifications will be of any avail, and therefore that they should not be made at all; for they will only so far abridge the value of our schools without yielding any recompense for the loss. Nevertheless let us offer the modifications, offer any terms of union that can be offered without a virtual destruction or renunciation of the system; and then if they are not accepted it will not be our fault. I very much fear they will not be, that an absolute separation of the Catholic children from our schools is already determined, and that no revision of the sentence can be had. Still it is much for us to take away every excuse for such a determination, and every complaint or pretext by which it is justified.

Then, having done it, we can take the ground explicitly and clear of all ambiguity, that they who exclude themselves are not Americans, and are not acting in their complaints or agitations on any prin-

ciple that meets the tenor of our American institutions. Nothing will be more evident, and they should be made to bear the whole odium of it. If to keep their people apart from the dreaded influence of Protestant Christianity they were to buy townships of land or large quarters in our cities, to be occupied only by Catholics, walled in by their own by-laws, and allowing no Protestant family or tradesman or publican to reside in the precinct, no one to enter it without a pass; and then to come before our legislatures in petition that we will distribute moneys to support their roads, and pay their constables and gatekeepers; they would scarcely do a greater insult to our American society than they do in these separations from our common schools, and the petitions they are offering to be justified and rewarded in the separation.

But we tax them, it will be said, for the support of the common schools, and then, receiving no benefit from the tax they pay, they are obliged to tax themselves again for schools of their own. It is even so, and for one, apart from all resentment, I rejoice in it; unless they have grievances put upon them by the organization of our schools, such as justify their withdrawal. We tax the Quakers for defect of military service and bachelors who have no children, and we ought, much more, to tax the refractory un-American position taken by these Catholic strangers, after we have greeted them with so great hospitality and loaded them with so many American privileges. If now they will not enter into the great American institu-

tion, so fundamental to our very laws and liberties, let them pay for it and measure their deserts by their dissatisfactions. If they will be foreigners still among our people, let them have remembrances that interpret their conduct to them in a way of just emphasis.

Meantime let us be sure also of this, that a day is at hand when they will weary of this kind of separation, and will visit on their priests, who have required it, a just retribution. One generation, or possibly two, may bear this separation, this burden of double taxation, this withdrawal of their children from society and its higher advantages, to be shut up or penned as foreign tribes in the state, thus to save the prejudices of a discarded and worthless nationality; but another generation is to come who will have drunk more deeply into the spirit of our institutions and attained to a more sufficient understanding of the hard lot put upon them, in this manner, by a jealous and over bearing priesthood. Then comes a reaction both against them and their religion; then a flocking back to the schools to reap their advantages. And it will be strange if the very measure now counted on as the means of preserving this class of our citizens in the Catholic faith does not, of itself, become one of the strongest reasons for the alienation of their children from it. Of this we may be quite sure, and it ought not to be any secret to them, that their children of the coming time will at last find a way to be Americans; if not under the Pope and by the altars, then without them.

Neither let it be said that this is a matter which lies at the disposal of politics, and that our political demagogues will sell anything, even our birthright as a people, to carry the vote of a campaign. The experiment has just been tried in Detroit with a most signal and disastrous failure. In cases where the issue touches no religious interest or feeling of the Protestants, and the Catholics can be gained to throw a casting vote on one side or the other, the politicians will not deal altogether absurdly if they consent to buy that vote by some great promise; and I have so little confidence in many of them, under the prodigious temptations of a canvass, as to take it for granted that they will stick at nothing which is possible. But here, thank God, is one thing that is impossible, and whatever politician ventures on the experiment will find that he has not worked his problem rightly,—that if Catholics can be often united and led in masses to the vote, so Protestants will sometimes go in masses where they are not led save by their principles. That our legislatures cannot and will not be gained to allow the ruling out of the Scriptures and all religious instruction from the schools, as in New York city, I am by no means certain. I very much fear that they will. But that they can ever become supporters and fund-holders to ecclesiastical schools, or be induced to give up common schools, I do not believe. Whatever politician or political party ventures on that experiment, will find that he has rallied a force manifold greater against him than he has drawn to his aid. A

point so thoroughly un-American, so directly opposite also to the deepest convictions of the great Protestant majorities of the country, cannot be carried, and if pressed, will suffice to fix a stigma that is immovable upon any leader who is desperate enough to try the experiment.

Here I will close. The subject is a painful one, and not any the less so that the line of our duty is plain. It cannot be said by any, the most prejudiced critic, that our conduct as a people to strangers and men of another religion has not been generous and free beyond any former example in the history of mankind. We have used hospitality without grudging. In one view it seems to be a dark and rather mysterious providence that we have thrown upon us, to be our fellow-citizens, such multitudes of people, depressed for the most part in character, instigated by prejudices so intense against our religion. But there is a brighter and more hopeful side to the picture. These Irish prejudices, embittered by the crushing tyranny of England for three whole centuries and more, will gradually yield to the kindness of our hospitality and to the discovery that it is not so much the Protestant religion that has been their enemy, as the jealousy and harsh dominion of conquest. God knows exactly what is wanting, both in us and them, and God has thrown us together that, in terms of good citizenship and acts of love, we may be gradually melted into one homogeneous people. Probably no existing form of Christianity is perfect; the Romish

we are sure is not; the Puritan was not, else why should it so soon have lost its rigors? The Protestant, more generally viewed, contains a wider variety of elements, but these too seem to be waiting for some process of assimilation that shall weld them finally together. Therefore God, we may suppose, throws all these diverse multitudes, Protestant and Catholic, together, in crossings so various, and a ferment of experience so manifold, that he may wear us into some other and higher and more complete unity than we are able, of ourselves and by our own wisdom, to settle. Let us look for this, proving all things and holding fast that which is good, until the glorious result of a perfected and comprehensive Christianity is made to appear and is set up here for a sign to all nations. Let us draw our strange friends as close to us as possible, not in any party scramble for power, but in a solemn reference of duty to the nation and to God. I cannot quite renounce the hope that a right and cordial advance on our part,—one that, duly careful to preserve the honors of Christianity, concedes everything required by our great principle of equal right to all, and as firmly refuses to yield anything so distinctively American as this noble institution, identified with our history as the blood with the growth of our bodies,—will command the respect and finally the assent of our Catholic friends themselves. And since God has better things in store even for religion than the repugnant attitudes of its professed disciples can at present permit, I would even hope that he may

use an institution so far external to the church, as a means of cementing the generations to come in a closer unity and a more truly catholic peace; that, as being fellow-citizens with each other, under the state, in the ingenuous days of youth and youthful discipline, they may learn how also to be no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God.

IV.

THE CHRISTIAN TRINITY A PRACTICAL TRUTH.*

It is most remarkable that our Lord Jesus Christ, at just the moment when we look to find him offering what is most of all practical and distinctive in his Gospel, most necessary in that view to its power in the earth, advances just the Christian Trinity and nothing else. His work is now done, and the hour of his final ascension is come. His disciples are gathered round him to receive their commission of trust and the farewell address, so to speak, of their Great Leader. Now he will seize on the first truths of the kingdom and put them forward. No matter of mere theory or of idle curiosity will obtrude. He will give them counsel for the guidance of their future course; cautions, encouragements, suggestions of heavenly wisdom. He will bring out the great truth of salvation, the change to be wrought in mankind, the manner and means of the change; the way to preach, and what to preach, and all that is necessary to the established polity and wise conduct of the future

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church about to be gathered in all parts of the world by their ministry. What then does he say? "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This, and this alone, is the commission. What then does it mean, that Christ himself, the simplest and most practical and, in the higher sense, most rational of all teachers, in a parting charge to his disciples, gives them not any truth or vestige of truth over and above this one difficult, ever to be contested formula of Trinity? At first view the fact appears to have no agreement either with the time or with the general manner of the teacher; but, as we pause upon it and ponder it a little more deeply, we begin to suspect that this formula of Trinity is given, simply because it is the Gospel in its most condensed term of statement, and is put deliberately forward in this manner in the foreground of the commission, as a general denomination for all that is practical in the Christian truth. And that such was the real understanding of Christ sufficiently appears in the fact, that the commission given is itself a working commission. They are to go "teaching and baptizing all nations," and the converts made are to be baptized into the name of the Sacred Three, as being the name of that power by which alone they are renewed, and are to have their spiritual cleansing accomplished. In some deeper sense of it open to him, the Trinity, as we are thus left to understand, is the underlying truth, and contains the whole working matter of his Gospel.

No sentiment or opinion could be farther off from the current impressions of our time. That the Christian Trinity is, in any sense, a practical truth appears in our day to be very generally unsuspected.

Thus among the outsiders, the light-minded critics and worldly cavilers of profane literature, the Trinity is taken, *ex concessis*, for a standing example of the utterly barren futilities preached and contended for as articles of religion.

The class of Unitarian believers handle the subject more seriously, and arrive at the conclusion, which they assert with peremptory confidence, that it is a stupendous theologic fiction, a plain absurdity in itself, and in its effects, one of the worst practical hindrances to the power of the Gospel; for how can it be less when it annihilates the simplicity of God, confuses the mind of the worshiper, and even makes the faith of God an impossible subject to the unbeliever?

Meantime how many of the formally professed believers of the doctrine are free to acknowledge that they see no practical value in it, and will even blame the preacher who maintains it for spending his time and breath in a matter so far out of the way of the practical life, a merely curious article or riddle of the faith! And how many others, even of the more serious class of believers, would say, if they were to speak out what is in their feeling, that they take the Trinity as a considerable drawback on the idea of God! They would recoil indeed from the thought, as being even a blamable irreverence, of imagining any

improvement of God; but if they could think of him as a simple unit of personality, in the manner of the Unitarians, he could consciously be just so much more to their mind, and their practical relations towards him would be proportionally cleared and comforted.

An issue is thus made up, it will be seen, between the ascending Redeemer, on one side, and a very general sentiment or opinion of the Christian world on the other, regarding the practical import of the Christian Trinity. On the side last named, it is very commonly asserted that it has no practical value, and is only a kind of scholastic futility which, if we do not reject, we receive as a faith wholly inoperative and useless. On the side of the Son of God himself, it is assumed to be, in fact, a condensed expression for all that is operative and powerful in the Christian faith. Protected by so great a name, it requires no courage in us to venture some considerations, from our human point of view, that may go to illustrate the intense practical significance of this great truth. For what Christ has given us from his higher point of authority evidently needs in this, as in other cases, to be naturalized in our human convictions by a discovery of the want on our own side, which his truth is given to supply. Indeed it has often seemed to us that nothing is ever needed, as regards the evidence of this much litigated truth, but to know it in its practical uses, and perceive the sublime facility with which it

limbers the play of our thought to all that is most transcendent in the divine nature and the new economy of the Gospel of Christ.

In asserting the immense practical value thus of the Christian Trinity, we do not mean, it is hardly necessary to say, that the Trinity is practical in the sense of presenting something to be done or practiced. Neither is it practical in the sense of showing in what manner something else is to be done. It is practical only as an instrument of thought, action, self-application to all the great matters of the faith. What is more practical than human language? And as by the use of language our understandings are adjusted, our feelings expressed, our information received, our mind itself developed, so by the Christian Trinity it is that our sense of God is opened; what he has done for us and will do, put in terms of use; all the relations of what he does in one part of his kingdom to what he has instituted and done in another,—mysteries of law and grace, letter and spirit,—played into our practical apprehension, so that by mere names and signals, our faith is inducted into uses before we can discover reasons and settle definitions. The Trinity, in short, is so related to the Gospel and our approach to God in the faith of the Gospel, that the grace of it, without such a concomitant, will be fatally baffled in its access and rendered practically inefficient.

But this, again, we could not say of all the possible or existing forms of Trinity; for it is not to be denied that conceptions of this great truth are held by many

which are so far abhorrent from its proper simplicity, and so badly distorted by the perverse ingenuity of human speculation, as to oppose great hindrances to the practical repose of faith, and even to counteract, in a great degree, the real benefit of the doctrine. We undertake to show the practical value only of the Christian Trinity, or Trinity of the Christian Scriptures.

And the Scriptures offer no theoretic or scientific statement of the doctrine whatever, give us nothing pertaining to the subject in terms of logical definition. They assume the strict unity and simplicity of God, that he is one substance or entity, only one; which one they also assume will, at least, be most effectively thought as three, a threefold grammatic personality, or three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. These persons are not even called persons, but are only set in the grammar of uses silently as such. Of course it is nowhere said or implied that they are three persons in the same sense that John, James, and Peter are three; and the mere laws of grammar, in which they stand, support no such inference, any more than the grammar of sex supports a like inference respecting the real gender of the sun and moon. The three are persons, evidently, only in some sense that recognizes a radical unity of substance which is not true of any three men; some tropical, or instrumental sense, that needs not any way to be, and cannot be, exactly defined. The plurality therefore, whatever it be, does not divide, but only more sufficiently communicates, the One.

Our argument does not require that we should go into any discussion regarding either the evidence, or the interior significance of the Trinity. It fixes simply on the Scripture fact, a phenomenon occurrent in the Scripture, showing its practical use and necessity. And for the present, we shall speak *as if* it were only a matter of form or language, accommodated in that manner to our finite wants and uses, but before we close, shall ascend to a point more interior, and to higher apprehensions of the subject, viz., to the discovery of something more interior as a ground in the eternity of God, antecedent to the revelation in time. Our present concern is to show, that assuming the oneness and infinity of God, Trinity is needed as a way of conceiving God and working our piety towards him, in the matters of grace and redemption. So far, Trinity may be regarded as language for God, or as an expedient in the manner of the Sabellians. The argument for use or practical necessity, will be greatly simplified by including in the question nothing more than this: or at least, by including nothing more, till we have reached a point where the transition to a deeper view of the subject can be made with advantage.

As a grand preliminary in this mode of argument, we need to observe, that in conceiving God, we are obliged to represent him, as we do all spiritual realities, by images and figures taken from things we know. And then there is, of course, a sense in which the representation is true, and a sense in which it is

not true, and exactly where the line is to be drawn, we often cannot tell more exactly, than simply to say that we speak in a figure. Thus we describe the heavenly state as a paradise, a garden, watered by a river, with trees of healing on its banks; or we conceive it as a city, whose height, length, and breadth are equal, and whose walls are built of precious stones; and then we cannot tell more exactly where truth ends and error begins, than simply to say that the representation holds figuratively, and not literally.

Or we may take a different illustration, that will assist our subject in other respects. We say, and most of us have no thought of difficulty in affirming it, that God is a person, or a personal being. But a little reflection will show us, that the word *person* thus applied is only a figure derived from our finite human personality, and is, in fact, a strictly finite word. After all, God is not a person save in a figure, as we shall see at a glance if we ask what constitutes our idea of a person. This we shall readily answer out of our own consciousness, by saying that a person is a conscious being, an agent or intelligent self-active force, exactly what our consciousness conceives to be included in itself. But the moment we begin to recite the inventory of our consciousness, we find that almost every article in it is in such a type of measure and mode, that we cannot refer it to God at all. Thus a person or agent, as we conceive the term, drawing on our own consciousness, wills; putting forth successively new determinations of will, without which new deter-

minations personality is null, and no agency at all. But God never does that. His determinations are all passed even from eternity. So a person thinks, or has successions of thought coming in, as it were, in file, one after another. God never thinks in any such sense. As all his acts are done, so all his thoughts are present contemporaneously from eternity. A person or intelligent agent reasons, drawing one proposition out of others: in this sense God never reasons. A person remembers: God never remembers; for nothing past is ever out of mind. A person hopes and conjectures: God does neither; for the future is as truly present to him as the past. A person has e-motions, simple movings out of feeling into the foreground of the hour. God has no such temporary movings, in which one feeling jets up for the hour into eminence, and takes the foreground of his life; all movings or states of affection are in him at once, and appropriate exactly to their objects. And so we find that a very great part certainly of what we were affirming, in the assertion that God is a person, is in some other view not true. Literally, God is not a person; for the very word is finite in all its measures and implications, because it is derived from ourselves. Figuratively, he is a person; and beyond this, nothing can be said which is more definite, save that he is in some sense unconceived, a real agent who holds himself related personally to us, meeting us in terms of mutuality, such that we can have the sense of society with him, and the confidence of his society

with us, *as if* he were in truth a literal person like ourselves.

There is a value in this last illustration, beyond the mere showing under what conditions of figure we are obliged to speak of the divine nature, and what are the conditions of truth in our representation. We do not remember ever to have seen the fact noticed, but we do exactly the same thing, as regards truth or intelligent comprehension, when we say that God is a person, that we do when we say that he is three persons, and there is really no difficulty in one case that does not exist in the other. As we can say that God is a person without any real denial of his infinity, so we can say that he is three persons without any breach of his unity. Indeed, we shall hereafter see that he is set forth, and needs to be, as three persons, for the very purpose, in part, of mending a difficulty created by asserting that he is one person; that is, to save the impression of his infinity. The word *person* is, in either case, a figure, and as truly in one as in the other. And if the question be raised, what correspondent reality there is in the divine nature to meet and justify the figure, there can plainly be no literal correspondence between the infinite substance of God, and any merely finite term, whether one or three; or if we suppose a correspondence undefinable and tropical, it may as well answer to three persons as to one.

Neither is there any difficulty in removing the logical objections so pertinaciously urged against the Trinity, on the ground that three distinct personal

pronouns are applied to God, requiring us to regard him as a council or plurality of beings; after which it is impossible that he should be one being. Grammatic laws and relations may as well pass into figure as mere names of things. Thus, to convey a certain undefined or indefinable impression, we may apply the feminine pronoun *she* to a ship, using a grammatic term of gender for a descriptive and representative purpose. And then, to represent or connect another impression, we may give the ship a masculine name, such as Hercules or Agamemnon. Whereupon the man of logic, scandalized by so great absurdity, may begin to argue that since the ship is feminine as to gender it cannot be masculine; or if it is masculine then it cannot be feminine. But it will be sufficient, for any one but him, to answer that we use these terms of gender only to represent some indefinable, partially correspondent reality which we can signify by this short method better than by any other. So if it be urged that person means person, and number means number, by the inevitable laws of grammar, and that when we have called God three persons, it must be absurd to speak any longer of his unity, it is sufficient to answer, that there may be a representative personality and number, as well as a representative or tropical gender, and that any mere logical practice on the words will, in both cases, be equally futile and puerile. Indeed, the pronoun *he* applied to each one of the persons of the Trinity is itself a word of gender, as truly as of number and person, and it

would not be as great an offense to the majority of mankind to say that God is impersonal, as to apply to him the feminine pronoun. Why then should it create so great difficulty that God is represented as a Trinity of persons? Why not go into a logical practice on the gender of the pronoun, as well as on the number and the grammatic personality? There may, it is true, be a much closer degree of correspondence in these latter cases with something interior in God,—of that we shall speak hereafter,—but, for aught that appears, the logical process covers precisely the same *kind* of falsity in one case as in the other.

But these are matters introductive and preliminary. We come now to the question itself,—What is the practical import of the Trinity? Wherein consists its value? It is needed, we answer, to serve two main purposes:—

I. To save the dimensions or the practical infinity of God, consistently with his personality. God is never fully presented to the mind, or adequately conceived, except when he is conceived under these two conditions together; viz., as a being really infinite, and also as existing in terms of society and personal mutuality with us. Accordingly we shall find, on the right and left of the Christian Trinity, two distinct views which are both fatally defective and mutually opposite to each other.

First, the view of the pantheists, who are instigated by a desire to establish, or adequately conceive, the

infinity of God. Struggling after this, they spread themselves over all space and time and substance, and looking at *the All*, as an eternal going on of spiritual development under laws of eternal necessity, they call it God. Their God is the largest thought they can raise; largest, that is, in extent, and containing boundary, but he is no person. Personality has been lost in the struggle after magnitude, or rather it has been actually dismissed as untenable; because the word, logically treated and literally taken, presents God under conditions of time and date, waking up to create worlds, exercised by thoughts, remembrances, reasonings, attentions and affections personal,—all which is contrary to the rational infinity of God. The doctrine of God's personality is therefore deliberately cast away as being a logical and necessary limit on his perfection; for it is not perceived that though the word *person* is finite, it may yet have an application figurative, that is legitimate, and leaves all finite implications behind, availing only to set the infinite in terms of society with us. The result is that God, in this rejection of his personality, becomes a vast platitude; or if not this, a dreary, all-containing abyss; a being unconscious, a fate, a stupendous IT, without meaning or value to our religious nature; a theme of barren rhapsody and vaporing declamation, not a friend, not a redeemer, not an object of personal affinity, love or trust.

Over against these pantheistic aberrations, we have the doctrine of Unitarianism, which represents God,

in opposition to pantheism, as a being personal, and because of the supposed absurdities or rational impossibilities of Trinity, one person. Clearing thus, at once, the dearth of pantheism and the contradictions of Trinity, it presents a universal Father, one person; who, being a strict indivisible unity, is therefore no offense or stumbling-block to reason. The result is that the personality, or relational state of God is saved in the completest manner. God is a person, a simple unit of reason, a Father eternal, creating and ruling the worlds and doing all things for the benefit of his children. But the difficulty now is that the dimensions are lost, the infinite magnitude is practically taken away. And precisely here, as was just now intimated, is one of the grand practical uses of Trinity. The Unitarians supposed that when they had carried out their doctrine and shown that God is a simple unit of fatherhood, they had gained a great point, cleared the confusion, reduced the absurdity, and presented to the world a being so lovely in his character and so rational in his evidence, that all intelligent worshipers must rejoice and the world itself must shortly turn itself to him in love. But alas! there was a fatal difficulty which they did not suspect, and which time only could reveal; viz., that in going on to assert the one God, always under the same figure of personality, till that figure became a well-nigh literal affirmation, the dimensions of God would be reduced to the measures of the human figure, and their one God, their Great Father, would be a

name without magnitude or any genuine power of impression. We do not of course mean, when we thus speak, to imply that the Unitarian will become any the less a believer theoretically in the infinity of God; or that he will not save himself from the letting down process, in a degree, by the great tokens of power and majesty he will trace in the worlds of matter, and the adjectives he will set about the name of God, such as eternal, infinite, all-present, all-seeing, all-powerful, the Creator, Governor, Judge of the worlds. All this he will do, and yet for some reason, he may not guess what the reason is, he will be conscious of a certain decay of impression, a diminution of tonic force in the idea of God, such as once it had before he broke loose from the absurdities of Trinity; or above all, such as he discovers in the writings and history of his fathers, before they broke loose and led their children out, as they supposed, in the paths of intelligence and reason. An impression will finally begin to crowd upon him that there is, after all, something in the Trinitarian feeling not in his; that their God is more a God, higher in majesty, and heavier on the soul's feeling. And the sense of this fact will by and by appear in other and more decisive indications; as when, for example, poets, essayists, and nominally Christian teachers brought up in his doctrine, begin to be heard speaking in a heathenish and mock-classic way of "*the gods*." They will do it because their God, their one person or Father, has somehow lost magnitude in their impressions, and because there

seems to be really more rhetorical power in the plural "*gods*," than there is in their boasted unity-of-reason God.

It could not be otherwise. How is it possible to keep up the figure of a one personality, and be always seeing God under that figure, without finally dragging him down by the force of its finite associations, and subjecting him practically to its measures? Suppose that by reason of some analogy discovered in the rock, God were always called, as he is a few times in the Scriptures, "The Rock," and conceived under no other name, does any one doubt that such an image would, by its natural associations, finally obdurate or harden, and in that manner radically vitiate, the conception of God's character? He was familiarly known to the ancient race as the "Jehovah-angel"; *i. e.*, a visitor appearing in the human form to represent and speak for God. Suppose then he had always been called *The Angel*, never conceived in any other way, how plain is it that he would be gradually let down to the grade of an apparition coming and going and acting in space! What then must follow when he is spoken of and worshiped only in the type of a person, which is nothing but a metaphysically finite conception? One good point is gained, viz., the mutuality, the reciprocal relationship of God; but with that everything necessary to the grandeur, the transcendent wonder, the immeasurable vastness of God, is lost or left behind.

Setting now these two failures against one another,

the failure of pantheism and the failure of Unitarianism, we perceive exactly what is the problem answered by the Christian Trinity. By asserting three persons instead of one, and also instead of none, it secures at once the practical infinity of God and the practical personality of God. By these cross relations of a threefold grammatic personality, the mind is thrown into a maze of sublimity, and made to feel at once the vastness, and with that the close society also, of God. He is not less personal than he would be under the one personality of Unitarianism, and is kept meantime, by the threefold personality, from any possible diminution under the literal measures of the figure; for God cannot become either one person or three, in any literal sense, when steadfastly held as both.

In this respect, the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, practically accepted and freely used, with never a question about the speculative nature of the mystery, with never a doubt of God's rigid and perfect unity, will be found to answer exactly the great problem of the practical life of religion; viz., how to keep alive the profoundest, most adequate sense of God's infinity, and, at the same time, the most vivid and intensest sense of his social and mutual relationship as a person. And this, if I am right, is more to say than could be said of any other known or possible denomination for God. Regarded simply as a literary exploit, if that were all, it is at once the profoundest practical expedient ever adopted, and the highest wonder ever accomplished in human language.

Many persons talk and reason of this matter, as if it were the easiest, most extempore thing in the world, to make a valid and true communication of God, not considering either the hard limitations of language, or the more stringent limitations of a finite creature's thought. In this radical and somewhat feeble assumption, we have the beginning of the Unitarian attempt; as if it were nothing, could involve no mystery, no paradox, to give expression to the infinite God! Who that can take Zophar's thought of his incomprehensible, inconceivable majesty: "Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is as high as heaven, what canst thou do? deeper than hell, what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth and broader than the sea"; who, we ask, that can take up such a thought of God, will have it for a perfectly easy and simple matter to present such a being to the world? Far more equal and fit to the true import of the problem was the answer of that wise heathen who, when it was required of him to give the definition of God, demanded a certain time for thought, and when the time expired, double the time, and then again the double of that, till at last, by so many delays, he had given the most expressive and truest answer possible; declaring in that manner, the sense he had of God's inscrutable, inconceivable mystery. Who that has a mind really opened to the difficulties of the subject, will not see beforehand, that when such a being communicates himself to the world, nothing will serve

his object but some wondrous compilation of apparently conflicting and paradoxical images,—such exactly as we have in the Christian Trinity? The very mystery, and all the conflicting terminology which the Unitarians undertook to clear and logically reduce, had even a presumption in their favor. And the new explication they attempted of these absurdities of Scripture, their "Truth made Simple," it was even as clear beforehand as it could be afterwards, would be only a substitution of the little for the great, the feeble for the sublime, a merely childish half-truth for the grand, well-rounded majesty of the triune formula. Nothing is easier than the method of a "Norton's Reasons;" and when implicitly followed, nothing will more certainly show the problem resolved, how it may be possible, with only a moderate force, drudged in the ploddings of unilluminated scholarship, to empty a Gospel most effectually of all that is necessary to its life. It is no difficult task to make God intelligible, and set him clear of all terms that stagger comprehension; and then, when it is done, it is not less easy to find that he is just as much diminished as he is more completely leveled to the logical understanding. Withdrawn from the imagination and reduced to the measures of logical practice, he will be, in fact, to the true Almighty Infinite God, what the wax-doll Napoleon is to the mysterious living paradox of genius, before whose name and coming the nations shook with dread.

Regarding the grammatic plurality, or three per-

sons, as a necessary means, in this manner, of preserving at once the personality and practical infinity of God, we ought perhaps to notice what is really a striking confirmation of our suggestion, that the Old Testament word commonly translated God, *Elohim*, is a plural word. Over this word, particularly as it occurs in the first chapter of Genesis, in connection with the phrase, "Let us make man in our image," there has been a good deal of frivolous and impertinent debate; frivolous and impertinent of necessity, because the question raised, whether these pluralities are not affirmations of Trinity, is a fictitious and wholly unscholarly question. The true question is different, viz., what is the reason, for some reason there certainly was, why this plural name occurs and becomes accepted as the name of God? Such a question opens up, it will be seen, a previous history in the word, conducting us back upon the great natural fact, that plurality is a form of instrumentation for God or the divine nature, quite as readily received and for some purposes more adequate than a simple grammatic unity. In this respect, the plural name of the Old Testament answered some of the important conditions of the Trinity of the New. The pluralities introduced by means of the Jehovah Angel, the Memra or Word of the Lord, and by such uses or conceptions of the Holy Spirit as we find in the 51st Psalm, show also in what manner the advantages of the New Testament Trinity are made up in the Old by another process, if indeed it is another, which many will deny We pass now,

II. To another view of the Christian Trinity, in which it is seen to have a practical relation to our character and our state as sinners. Here it is the instrument and co-efficient of a supernatural grace or redemptive economy. Not, as we sometimes hear, that an infinite atonement is wanted, which none but an infinite and divine person could execute. That is only a very crude and distant approximation to the truth. The need we are here to discover is broader and more comprehensive, resting in the fact that God's universal economy is, in its very conception, twofold; comprising at one pole, an economy of nature, and at the other, an economy of supernatural grace; requiring, in order to an easy practical adjustment of our life under it, a twofold conception of God that corresponds; for which reason the Scripture three are sometimes spoken of by Calvin and others, as composing an economic Trinity.

In the department of nature, we discover, as we think, a realm of complete systematic causation. All events proceed in right lines of invariable sequence under fixed laws. But as laws are only another name for God's will, or the action of forces representing his will, the system of nature becomes a symbol in its whole development of the regulative mind of God. What we call the natural consequences are determinations of that mind in the same manner. In this view it will be seen that, if the universal economy included nothing but nature, the single term or conception *God* would answer all our necessary uses. So far there would be no discoverable economic need of Trinity.

But the universal economy is larger and contains, of necessity, another and partially contending factor, supernaturalism, even as the balance of the firmament is settled between two natural factors or forces always contending with each other. Nature is a realm so adjusted that, whenever any moral agent or race of agents casts off the law moral, a train of natural consequences forthwith takes them in hand for discipline or retribution. The action begun is that of disease, disorder, pain, constituting what is fitly called a fall. The penal train is a run of justice, and the run is downward even forever; for it is inconceivable that disorder should ever of itself beget order. As little is it to be conceived that we, who have broken up the ideal harmony of nature by starting a malignant and diseased action, should be able to will it back into a state of perfection or ideal order, which we cannot even conceive. To provoke and raise up nature was one thing; to smooth and restore it, another. Nothing but a force supernatural can restore the mischief, and without that any thought of our own self-clearance and self-preparation for a state of perfected health and felicity is even absurd.

Inasmuch then, as the spiritual training of a race of free moral agents included the certain fact of their sin, there was, we perceive, a grand prior necessity that, if they are to have any advantage in existence, the scheme of God's economy should comprehend two factors, nature and the supernatural. And this again is the same, it will be seen, as to say that God will

institute and actuate two realms of forces, a kingdom of nature and a kingdom of grace; for as we have seen that nature is the presiding will of God, so also must the supernatural be; and then, the perfection or completeness of God's economy will consist in the orderly comprehension of both, under harmonizing principles of law and reason which are clear to him, but only imaginable to us.

And now the question is, conceiving that we are in the state of retributive disorder to be recovered from it, related thus to God as the Head of the two economies, and having our salvation to seek under their joint action, how we shall be able to conceive God in any manner that will set him continually in this twofold relation towards us. If we have only the single term *God*, then we must speak of God as dealing with God, contending with the causations of God, the grace-force of God delivering from the nature-force of God. If the work includes an incarnation, as we suppose it must of necessity, then it must be God sending God into the world. Or, if it includes a renovating spirit within, then we go to God to give us God, and expect that God within will graciously master the retributive causations of God within; all of which, as we may see, is a conception too clumsy and confused to serve, at all, the practical necessity of our state. There is, in short, no intellectual machinery in a close theoretic monotheism for any such thing as a work of grace or supernatural redemption. We should even say beforehand, that no

such thing can ever be; for how can God rescue from his own causes and open a way through his own retributions? Accordingly, it will be observed that where this Unitarian conception is held, there is also discovered an almost irresistible tendency to naturalism, and so to a loss or dying out of all that distinctively constitutes the gospel. God is the king of nature, and nature is the inclusive name of all that constitutes his dominion. There is, in fact, no legitimate place for anything but nature. Sin is softened, depravity ignored. Nature is conceived to be ideally perfect and the palpable disorders and deformities of the world are not regarded, in the admiration offered to its beauty. The gospel is education and the run of life is a course of development in right lines, without a reversal or new creation of anything. Indeed, there is no alternative but to say, as some are obliged in fidelity to their scheme itself to do, and have not shrunk from doing, that if we are saved at all, we must be saved by justice or the natural law of retribution.

Now there is, we have already intimated, a higher and more comprehensive view of God's universal kingdom, in which it includes and harmonizes these two economies, viz., nature and the supernatural, and by these two factors, like the contending forces of astronomy, settles and adjusts its orbit. And the Christian Trinity gives us a conception of God which exactly meets such a truth, leveling it always to the practical uses of our life.

Using the term *God* sometimes in a sense broad enough to comprehend all the complexities of his kingdom, we are able, when we need such aid for the practical accommodation of our faith, to lay hold of relational terms that exactly represent the two economies in their action with and upon each other. First, we have the term Father, which sets him before us as the king of nature, the author and ground of all existent things and causes. Next, we have the Son and the Spirit, which represent the supernatural; the Son coming into nature from above nature, incarnate in the person of Jesus, by a method not in the compass of nature, erecting a kingdom in the world that is not of the world; the Spirit coming in the power of the Son, to complete, by an inward supernatural working, what the Son began by the address he made without to human thought, and the forces he imported into nature by his doctrine, his works, his life and his death.

Having now these terms or denominations provided, we use them freely in their cross relations, as a machinery accommodated to our sin and the struggles of our faith; putting our trust in the Son as coming down from God, offering himself before God, going up to God, interceding before God, reigning with God, by God accepted, honored, glorified, and allowed to put all things under his feet; invoking also God and Christ to send down the Spirit, and let him be the power of a real indwelling life, coursing through our nature, breathing health into its diseases, and so roll

ing back the penal currents of justice to set us free. Having these for the instruments of our thought and feeling and faith towards God, and suffering no foolish quibbles of speculative logic to intervene and plague us, asking never how many Gods there are, or how it is possible for one to come out from another, act before another, take us from or to another; but assured of this, at every moment, that God is one and only one forever, however multiform in his vehicle; how lively, and full, and blessed, and easy too, is the converse we receive through these living personations, so pliant to our use as finite men, so gloriously accommodated to our state as sinners!

Our argument for the twofold practical need of a Trinity, and the consequent practical value of the Trinity we have, is now sufficiently stated, and is brought, we think, to a point of rational conviction as decisive as the nature of the subject permits. Thus far, it will be remarked, we have nothing to do with the interior mystery of the divine nature. The argument amounts to nothing more than that God, even assuming his strict unity, must needs be *exhibited* in this way, in order to the uses stated. Finding a certain threefold designation of God given out in the Christian Scriptures, in which he is presented, in form, as three personalities, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, we take up the subject at this point and show that, taken as means of divine representation, they are necessary to the adequate impression of God, and

the practical uses of a supernatural and redemptive economy.

But the question will be raised by many, at this point, whether after all, there is anything in God answering to these personalities? Some Unitarian, for example, having followed us to just this point and admitted the force of our argument, may require to be informed wherein the truth or reality of the triune formula consists, or what there is in God's nature to support these personalities of revelation? And to this we might well enough reply by handing back the question. Having shown the practical need of just what the Scripture gives, it is not therefore specially incumbent on us to settle all other and deeper questions that may be raised. Let him bring the matter to that issue that will best satisfy himself. Let him stop at Sabellianism, if the air is not too thin to feed his breath. Or let him vault clean over, at a single stride of logic, if he will, and rest himself in the conclusion that, since the three are persons, there must be three Gods, or a council of Gods. Enough for us that we have shown him the practical need of the Scripture Trinity.

But we will not so dismiss the question, lest by an evasion of responsibility, at the point reached, we may seem to regard the Trinity as a matter only of words, and not in any proper sense an eternal fact. Our impression then is that a very great gain, as regards the intelligent apprehension of this subject, will be made by simply giving full place, at the out-

set, to the admission that God is not a person or personal being, save in some qualified and partly tropical sense. For we can every one see, at a glance, that he cannot, as an infinite being, be comprehended under any such finite term *literally taken*. And yet he is a person. Who of us except a few speculative pantheists, doubts that he is a person, or apprehends any want of honest reality or solid eternity in the word when he is called a person? Doubtless the word is a figure, whether we have ever so thought of it or not; but it does not follow that because it is a figure, there is therefore nothing in God to meet and support the figure. Precisely in the same way, and with as good reason, God may be a Trinity of persons. There is in fact no greater difficulty in conceiving God as three persons, than there is in conceiving him as one; for he may as well be three without any breach of his unity as one without any breach of his infinity. Indeed, it may be and very probably is true, that what we mean by asserting the personality of God is simply to predicate of him that sociality, conversability, or, to coin a word yet more general, that relationality which is verified to us, and practically realized in us by the Trinity.

However this may be, it is an important consideration, and one that goes far to evince the profound reality of the persons, that as God in revelation assumes all the attitudes and acts all the forms of personality, so, in a like free manner, he displays a relative action of three persons towards each other and upon the world: God and with God, sending and

sent, conversing with, ascending to, proceeding from: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In all which the Trinity is seen to be not a matter of words only, but a reality of fact in the world of action. So far at least, the case is clear. What then shall we say of this tri-personality acted by God? What account shall we make of it? Is it that God will accommodate himself in this manner to finite minds? That would reduce the Trinity to an occasional matter, a voluntary expedient; which would be a supposition as painful and quite as remote from all our most earnest convictions as to believe that his personality is a merely occasional matter, an act of voluntary accommodation to our finite apprehensions, and not any part of his eternal property or idea.

What then is it that gives us the impression, when we speak of God's personality, that it is an eternal property in him, a something which appertains to the divine idea itself? It cannot be that he exists as an infinite substance in the mold of our human personality; it cannot be that there is a *core* of literal personality wrapped up in his infinite substance. It is not enough that he acts personality in a way of voluntary accommodation to men. It can be only that by some *interior necessity*, he is thus accommodated in his action to the finite; for what he does by the necessity of his nature as truly pertains to his idea, and is as truly inherent in him, as if it were the form of his divine substance itself. And precisely here we come upon the Nicene Trinity. This and all the

formulas of Trinity that assert the "eternal generation," affirm the unity of the persons as a unity of substance,—ὁμοούσιοι, "same in substance"; and then regarding the eternal going on, so to speak, of God, his living process or act, *actus purissimus*, they find him eternally threeing himself, or generating three persons. These documents do not mean that God, at some date in his almanac called eternity, begat his Son and sent forth his Holy Spirit; but that in some high sense undefinable, he is datelessly and eternally becoming three, or by a certain inward necessity being accommodated in his action to the categories of finite apprehension, adjusted to that as that to the receiving of his mystery.

This necessary act of God is sometimes illustrated by a reference to our necessary action, in the process of consciousness. Thus in simply being conscious, which we are, not by act of will, but by force of simply being what we are, we first take note of ourselves; secondly, raise a conception or thought of ourselves; and thirdly, recognize the correspondence of that conception with ourselves. And this we do as long as we exist, and because we exist. And some have gone so far as even to discover, in this fact, a parallel and a real explication of the Trinity of God. The illustration is reliable however, only as a demonstration of the intensely inherent character of all necessary action. Were this three-folding of consciousness a matter of substance, it would not be more truly inherent than it is, regarded as an act.

If then we dare to assume what is the deepest, most adorable fact of God's nature, that he is a being infinite, *inherently related in act* to the finite, otherwise impossible ever to be found in that relation, thus and therefore a being who is everlastingly threeing himself in his action, to be and to be known as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost from eternity to eternity, we are brought out full upon the Christian Trinity, and that in the simple line of practical inquiry itself. It is nothing but the doctrine *that God is a being practically related to his creatures.* And for just this reason it was that Christ, in the commission given to his disciples, set forth his formula of Trinity as a comprehensive designation for the gospel, and a revelation of the everlasting ground it has in the inherent properties of God. He calls it therein as emphatically as possible his "everlasting gospel," a work as old as the Trinity of God, a valid and credible work, because it is based in the Trinity of God. So glorious and high, and yet so nigh is God; related in all that is inmost, most inherent in his nature and eternity, to our finite want, and the double kingdom of nature and grace, by which we are to be raised up and perfected for the skies: a being who is at once absolute and relational; an all-containing, all-supporting Unity, and a manifolding humanly personal love; the All in all itself, and yet *above* all, *through* all, and *in* all; *of* whom also, and *through* whom, and *to* whom be glory forever.

How very distant any such conception of the Chris-

tian Trinity may be from most persons, we are well aware. The most they look for in it, is to find that it is barely defensible. That it contains the whole staple of Christianity, they do not suspect, and will be ready, it may be, to set it down as a visionary and over-fond estimate of its import. With the greater satisfaction therefore do we hail the expression of a deeper and more adequate conviction, by some of the first minds of our age; accepting in their words, the tokens of an ultimate return of the world to a more thoughtful spirit and a more truly Christian impression. Thus Mr. Coleridge,—and who has given a more pervading and more thoroughly Christian impulse to the English mind of the day, than he?—declares that "the article of Trinity is religion, is reason, and its universal formula; that there neither is nor can be any religion, any reason, but what is, or is an expression of the truth of, the Trinity." Neander, in like manner, and with a similar title to respect, calls it "the fundamental article of the Christian faith; and we recognize therein," he says, "the essential contents of Christianity summed up in brief; * * in which threefold relation the whole Christian knowledge is completely announced." (History, vol. 1, p. 572.

But these are testimonies of opinion, not of practice. There is yet another class of witnesses, even a great cloud of them, who are more to our purpose and better authorities than these. We mean those living myriads of God on earth and above, who, apart from

all scholarship and philosophy, have been raised to a participation of God so transcendent in the faith of this adorable mystery. Why or how it is a truth they have not been able, and it may be, as little cared, to find; for it had proved itself to their experience in such a raising of their consciousness and a communication to them of the divine nature so indisputably witnessed, as to make them inaccessible to all the colder assaults of scepticism. Sometimes they have stated a Trinity to which there have been abundant reasons for exception, and yet they have found such practical virtue in that, as to be raised quite above the incumbrances added, and seem even to have had it for a part of their joy to see how the fires of their faith could burn up all the chaff of their head. The wise ones of the church and the speculative schools sometimes give them pity; or, what is not far different, set them forth as the weaklings of the faith, who make a virtue of their ecstacies over what has been imposed upon their superstition. But the revelations of eternity will show who were weakest and most on a level with pity, they who could so readily fall into the abysses of the divine mystery, or the wise pretenders who stood questioning over syllables and refining in distinctions, till they had shut away all mystery and taken up for God a dull residuum just equal to the petty measures of their understanding.

Could we bring up this great cloud of witnesses and hear them speak to the question we have here on hand; or could we but gather up the words in which

they have recorded their experience in the faith, even these would contribute a weight of evidence to the truth we are asserting, and shed a glory over it such as to quite forbid the need of any other argument. Thus, for example, we should hear at Heidelberg, two centuries and a half ago, the distinguished Professor of divinity, Francis Junius, testifying that he was in fact converted from atheism by the Christian Trinity, or by the sense of God rolled in upon his soul by means of that stupendous mystery of the gospel. Having fallen into great looseness of living and become an atheist in his opinions, his Christian father kindly puts a New Testament in his hands, requesting him to read it, and the result is that, opening on a passage most of all likely as it would commonly be supposed to offend and fortify his scepticism, he is visited in its mysterious and sublime words by such a sense of God as overwhelms and instantly stifles the doubts which no mere argument of books and treatises had been able to remove. He shall give the account in his own words: "Here therefore I open that New Testament, the gift of heaven; at first sight and without design, I light upon that most august chapter of the Evangelist and Apostle St. John. 'In the beginning was the word and the word was with God, and the word was God.' etc. I read part of the chapter and am so affected as I read that, on a sudden, I perceive the divinity of the subject and the majesty and authority of the writing, far exceeding all human eloquence. I shuddered, was confounded,

and was so affected that I scarce knew myself. Thou didst remember me, O Lord my God, for thy great mercy, and didst receive a lost sheep into thy flock." (Bayle's Dictionary.)

The testimonies of Christian experience rejoicing in this truth, are, of course, more frequent. Thus the mild and sober Howe, explaining in what manner the Trinity is to be connected with Christian experience, says coincidently with what we have advanced concerning the relational nature of the fact: "When, therefore, we are to consider God as related to us as our God, we must take in and bring together each of these notions and conceptions concerning Him; we must take in the conceptions of each of the persons: 'God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost is my God.' How admirable a thing is this! How great and high thoughts ought we to have concerning the privilege state of our case! Indeed there is nothing that we have to consider of this God, or to look after the knowledge of, to answer the curiosity of a vain mind, but everything or anything that may answer the necessity of a perishing soul. Whatsoever is requisite to our real felicity and blessedness, we may look to all that is in God, as determined by a special relation unto us." (Works, p. 1100.)

Jeremy Taylor, holding the truth of the Christian Trinity to be a truth entirely practical, apprehensible therefore in its real evidence only by experience, says: "He who goes about to speak of the mystery of the Trinity, and does it by words and names of man's in-

vention, talking of essences and existences, hypostases and personalities, priorities in coequalities, and unity in pluralities, may amuse himself and build a tabernacle in his head, and talk of something he knows not what; but the good man who *feels* the power of the Father, to whom the Son is become wisdom, sanctification, and righteousness, and in whose heart the Spirit is shed abroad; this man, though he understands nothing of what is unintelligible, yet he alone truly understands the Christian doctrine of the Trinity."

Again, the Marquis de Renty, a distinguished French disciple of the seventeenth century, opens the secret of his own living experience in these words: "I bear in me ordinarily an experimental verification and a plenitude of the most holy Trinity, which elevates me to a simple view of God, and with that I do all that his providence enjoins me, not regarding anything for the greatness or littleness of it, but only the order of God and the glory it may render him." (Life of De Renty.)

The testimony of Edwards, a man whose intellectual sobriety and philosophic majesty of character are not to be disrespected, corresponds: "And God has appeared glorious unto me on account of the Trinity. It has made me have exalted thoughts of God that he subsists in three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The sweetest joys and delights I have experienced have not been those that have arisen from the hope of my own good estate, but in a direct view of the glorious things of the gospel." (Life, p. 132–3.)

The celebrated Lady Maxwell, a follower of Wesley, is more abundant in these revelations. She says: "Yesterday he made his goodness to pass before me in a remarkable manner, while attending public worship. I was favored with a clear view of the Trinity, which I never had before, and enjoyed fellowship with a triune God. I was in the spirit on the Lord's day, and felt my mind fixed in deep contemplation upon that glorious incomprehensible object, the ever blessed Trinity. Hitherto I have been led to view the Holy Ghost chiefly as an agent, now I behold him distinctly as the third person of the Trinity. I have in my own soul, an *experimental proof* of the truth of this doctrine, but find human language perfectly insufficient for speaking or writing intelligibly on the subject. Eternity alone can unfold the sacred mystery, but in the mean time what we may and do comprehend of it is replete with comfort to the Christian." (Life, p. 258.)

It is impossible not to admire the Gospel formula, that can so flood the human soul in its narrowed and blinded state with the sense of God, and raise it to a pitch of blessing so transcendent. The amazing power of the Trinity, acting thus on the human imagination, and the contribution thus made to Christian experience, cannot be over-estimated.

After we have discovered, in this manner, how closely related the Christian Trinity is to Christian experience and all the highest realizations of God, it

will not be difficult to account for the remarkable tenacity of the doctrine. No doctrine is more paradoxical in its terms. None can be more mercilessly tortured by the application of a little logic, such as the weakest and smallest wits are master of. None has been more often or with a more peremptory confidence repudiated by sections of the church and teachers of high distinction. The argument itself too has always been triumphant regarding the mere logical result; for the fact is logically absurd, and there is no child who cannot so handle the words as to show that no three persons can be one. And yet, for some reason, the doctrine would not die! It cannot die! Once thought, it cannot be expelled from the world. And this for the reason that its life is in men's hearts, not in their heads. Impressing God in his true personality and magnitude, impressing and communicating God in that grand twofold economy, by which he is brought nigh to our fallen state and accommodated to our wants as sinners, showing us God inherently related both to our finite capacity and our evil necessity, what can ever expel it from the world's thought! As soon shall we part with the day-light or the air as lapse into the cold and feeble monotheism in which some teachers of our time are ready to boast as the Gospel of reason and the unity of a personal fatherhood! No! This corner-stone is not to be so easily removed. It was planted before the foundation of the world, and it will remain. It is eternally woven into the practical economy of God's kingdom, and must

therefore stand firm. Look up, O man! Look up, thou sinner in thy fall, and behold thy God, eternally Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, bringing all his vastness down to thy littleness; all the power of his will to release thee from the power of thy will; acting, manifolding, circling round thee, inherently fitted, though infinite, to thy finite want, and so to be the spring of thy benediction forever!

We are fully conscious of the tameness and poverty of the illustrations by which we have endeavored to set forth this greatest of all subjects. What can a mortal say that is worthy of this transcendent mystery of God? Even if he should sometime seem to be raised in it quite above mortality, how can he utter that which is plainly unutterable? Well is it if he does not seem rather to have blurred than cleared the glorious majesty of the subject, by the consciously dull and feeble trivialities he has offered. Indeed we could not dare to offer a discussion so far below the real merit of the theme, were it not for the conviction that there is a lower and feebler inadequacy in our common holding of the theme, from which it is scarcely possible to detract. To hold this grand subtonic mystery, in the ring of whose deep reverberation we receive our heaviest impressions of God, as if it were only a thing just receivable, not profitable; a dead truth, not a living; a theologic article, wholly one side of the practical life; a truth so scholastic and subtle as to have, in fact, no relation to Christian

experience; nothing, we are sure, can be less adequate than this, or bring a loss to religion that is more deplorable, unless it be a flat denial of the mystery itself. In this view, we cannot but indulge a degree of hope that what we have been able to say, however insufficient or unequal to the theme, may yet have a certain value as a tract for the times, raising at least a question of respect for the doctrine where it has been renounced, starting other and worthier contemplations of it where it is received, and preparing some, in the legitimate use, to find how glorious and blessed a gift to experience, how vast an opening of God to man, how powerful, transforming, transporting, this great mystery of God may be. We can wish the reader nothing more beatific in this life than to have found and fully brought into feeling the practical significance of this eternal act or fact of God, which we call the Christian Trinity. Nowhere else do the bonds of limitation burst away as here. Nowhere else does the soul launch upon immensity as here; nowhere fill her burning censer with the eternal fires of God, as when she sings,—

> One inexplicably three,
> One in simplest unity.

Who that has been able, in some frame of holy longing after God, to clear the petty shackles of logic, and the paltry quibbles of a world-wide speculation, committing his soul up freely to the inspiring impulse of this divine mystery as it is celebrated in some

grand doxology of Christian worship, and has so been lifted into conscious fellowship with the great celestial minds, in their higher ranges of beatitude and their shining tiers of glory, has not known it as being, at once, the deepest, highest, widest, most enkindling and most practical of all practical truths!

Regarding it then as such, it is only a part of the argument by which we undertake to commend it to faith and a practical use, that we indicate, in a few brief suggestions, the manner in which its advantages may be most fully received, and with fewest drawbacks of hindrance and perplexity.

First of all, then, we must hold fast the strict unity of God. Let there be no doubt, or even admitted question, of that. Take it by assumption that God is as truly one being as if he were a finite person like ourselves, and let nothing ever be suffered to qualify the assumption; for the moment we begin to let in any such thought, as that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are three beings, we shall be thrown out of all rest, confused, distressed, questioning what and whom to worship, consulting our prejudices and preferences, and suffering all the distractions of idolaters.

Holding firm the unity in this manner, use the plurality with the utmost unconcern, as a form of thought or instrumental verity, by which we are to be assisted in receiving the most unrestricted, fullest, most real and sufficient impression of the One. We must have no jealousy of the three, as if they were going to drift us away from the unity, or from reason;

being perfectly assured of this, that in using the triune formula, in the limberest, least constrained way possible, and allowing the plurality to blend, in the freest manner possible, with all our acts of worship, preaching, prayer, singing and adoring, we are only doing with three persons just what we do with one; making no infringement of the unity with the three, more than of the infinity with the one. Let God be three persons forever, just as he is one person forever, and as this latter is a truth accepted without difficulty and held as the necessary truth of religion, so let it be our joy that he is a being who needs for other purposes equally dear, to be and be thought as three.

Meantime we must avoid all practices of logic on the persons. We must take them as we take the one, which if we will put our logic on the term, will immediately turn out to be only a finite being,—a man. They are to be set before the mind at the outset as a holy paradox, that only gives the truth in so great power of expression that it defies all attempts at logic or definition. Seizing thus upon the living symbols, we are to chant our response with the Church and say: "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God;" and, if we cannot reason out the paradox, to like it the better that it stops the clatter of our speculative mill-work and speaks to us as God's great mystery should, leaving us to adore in silence. Not that we are here to disown our reason. God is no absurdity as three persons more than as one. Fully satisfied of this, we are only to love the grand

abyss of God's majesty thus set before us and rejoice to fall into it, there to bathe and submerge our finite love, rejoicing the more that God is greater than we knew, taller than our reach can measure, wider than our finite thought can comprehend.

Neither will it do for us to suffer any impatience, or be hurried into any act of presumption, because the Trinity of God costs us some struggles of thought, and because we cannot find immediately how to hold it without some feeling of disturbance or distraction. That is one of the merits of the Trinity, that it does not fool us in the confidence that we can perfectly know and comprehend God by our first thought. Simply because God is too great for our extempore and merely childish comprehension, he ought to be given us in forms that cost us labor, and put us on a stretch of endeavor. So it is with all great themes. The mind labors and wrestles after them, and comes into their secret slowly. Let no shallow presumption turn us away then from this glorious mystery, till we have given it time enough, and opened to it windows enough by our praises and prayers, to let in the revelation of its glory. Let it also be an argument of modesty with us, and a welcome commendation to our reverence, that so many friends of God and righteous men of the past ages, such as bore a greater fight than we and grew to greater ripeness in their saintly walk, bowed themselves adoringly before this holy mystery, and sung it with hallelujahs in the worship of their temples, in their desert fastings and their

fires of testimony. And as their *Gloria Patri*, the sublimest of their doxologies, is, in form, a hymn for the ages, framed to be continuously chanted by the long procession of times, till times are lapsed in eternity, what can we better do than let the wave lift us that lifted them, and bid it still roll on! Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

V.

SPIRITUAL ECONOMY OF REVIVALS OF RELIGION.*

We do not undertake the vindication of Revivals of Religion. The Divine Husbandry in them is rather our study. Shall we mask our conviction that here is a want which has long demanded grave attention,—that the views of this subject entertained by many are unripe and partial, their notions of Christian instrumentality confused, and their practice desultory to the same degree? The discredit accruing from this cause is really the heaviest argument that lies against revivals; heavier than all the attacks of their adversaries. Indeed, if we had it in hand to convince the adversaries, we know not how we could hope more effectually to succeed, than by unfolding the Divine Husbandry, the Reason of God's Economy in them,—which now is our attempt.

The term *revival of religion* is one not found in the scriptures, and one to which we have decided objections. It properly denotes a *reviving* of Christian

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piety, where it has sunk into decline. We use it to denote a scene of conversion, of public exaltation and victory; and, what is even opposite to its proper meaning, we use it as the name, not of a scene which is counterpart to a state of dishonor in the church, but of something which belongs inherently to the gospel itself, in the same way as preaching or the sacraments. And then, as the term itself is seen to be no accurate measure of the idea, a feeling of distrust arises in all thinking persons. It carries an air of falsity, which is undignified and painful to the mind, perhaps I should rather say an air of crudity or superstition, as if cant were substituted for intelligence. Or if it is heartily accepted, the more probable is it that faith embraces some portion of error, and earnestness exults in a smoke of mental confusion. For words are powerful instruments, and false words can never be used without danger; they mislead the action even of philosophic minds, much more of those who never think at all. Still the term *revival* has found a current use, and convenience will perhaps give it perpetuity. In this article we submit to the term, only endeavoring, since it cannot be avoided, to measure and guard its import.

This not being done, and the real position, if any, which revivals hold in the economy of God's spiritual administration not being well ascertained by the Christian body, they are viewed by Christians themselves, with all the possible varieties of feeling between idolatry and distrust. Even the same mind

often fluctuates between these extremes. To-day, the face of God is bright upon his people, and the whole community is, in a sense, visibly swayed by his power; and now, in the happy freshness and vitality of the scene, it is concluded that there is no true religion but in a revival. To-morrow, as the freshness of new scenes and new feelings is manifestly abating, there begins to be an unhappy and desperate feeling; something must be done; religion itself is dying. And yet what shall be done, it is very difficult to find; for every effort to hold fast the exact degree and sort of feeling, to make a post of exercises, which in their very nature have motion and change, only sinks the vital force more rapidly. But the calm at length comes, and now the prostration is the greater for the desperate outlay of force used to prevent it. A dissatisfying look begins to rest, when it is reviewed, on the scene of revival itself; discouragement, unbelief, sloth,—a long age of lead follows. Secretly sickened by what is past, many fall into real distrust of spiritual experiences. Many have made so heavy a draft on their religious vitality or capacity, that something seems to be expended out of the sensibility even of their conscience: they sink into neglects, or crimes close upon the verge of apostasy; or they betake themselves to the cheap and possible perfectionism of antinomian irresponsibility. The extreme we here depict is not often reached; but there is very often a marked approach towards it. The consequence is, that the religious life, thus unskillfully ordered, is un-

happy, wears a forced look, goes with a perplexed and halting gait.

Our present aim, then, is to ascertain the real office and position of revivals,—to furnish, if possible, a view of them which may be safely held at all times, and must be so held, if any steady and intelligent conduct in these matters is to be secured. We hope to establish a higher and more solid confidence in revivals, and at the same time, to secure to the cause of evangelical religion a more natural, satisfactory, and happy, as well as a more constant movement.

They are grounded, we shall undertake to show, both in honor and in dishonor. They belong in part to the original appointment and plan of God's moral administration, in which part, they are only modes or varieties of divine action, necessary to our renewal and culture in the faith. For the remainder, they are made necessary by the criminal instability of God's people, or take their extreme character from unripe or insufficient views in their subjects and conductors. The two sides of the subject, thus stated, will require to be prosecuted separately.

If we are to show revivals of religion in place, as a geologist might say, or as they stand related to the general system of God's works, purposes, and ends, we need, first of all, to show in place the doctrine itself of spiritual agency. In speaking of the divine agency in men, we are obliged to use many and various figures of speech, by way of giving sufficient vividness and

practical life to the truth, to make it answer its moral ends. We speak of the Spirit of God as "descending," or "coming down," or "sent down," as "poured out," as "present" in a given assembly or place, as "grieved away," or "dwelling" in the heart of the believer. In all this, if we understand ourselves, we only dramatize the divine action with a view to give it reality and conversableness. But some, there is reason to fear, use these terms intending too literally in them. They separate the divine agency in men, from the general system in which it belongs; they make the doctrine special in such a sense that God is himself desultory in it, coming and going, journeying between the earth and the sky, while all his other operations go on by a general and systematic machinery which takes care of itself.

The word of God sometimes speaks of the divine or spiritual agency in men, as if it were only a new or varied extension of the divine presence, and uses the term *presence* as convertible with *Spirit*. "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" "Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy Holy Spirit from me." "When the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord."

Favored by this example, if we leave out of sight the distinctions of the trinity, which we may for the sake of greater simplicity in our subject, we shall readily see, that the doctrine of spiritual agency is grounded in the simple doctrine of God's OMNIPRES-

ENCE. Here it is in place. Of this, in fact, it is only a member.

What do we mean by God's omnipresence? If we speak intelligently, not the extension, not the local diffusion of the divine substance. We mean, negatively, that we can conceive of no place above God's works or outside of them, where the divine nature resides; there *is* no such place. We are, therefore, obliged to think of God as in-resident in his works. Next we mean, positively, that God is potentially present, present in act and sway (whatever may be true of his substance, or of its relations to space,) filling all things. The most ready illustration of this subject is the soul residing in the body. In what precise organ its throne is we know not; but virtually or energetically, it is all in every part. It is there to perceive, to have control and use, and it is one will which actuates and systematizes the action of all the parts together.

Let it not offend, that we reduce the warm and glowing doctrine of the agency of the Holy Spirit to mere cold omnipresence. But rather let some just degree of warmth be given to the latter,—a doctrine chilled by the stagnant unbelief, and the more stagnant philosophy of men. The true notion of omnipresence shows God in action everywhere, as much as in the matters of grace. He is in all things, not simply as staying in them, perchance asleep; but he is in them by a presence of power, design, and feeling; moving all, advancing in all, towards his great ap-

pointed ends. God is not entombed in his works. That vital touch, which the bier felt and sent into the quickened youth, touches all things and they live unto God. Forms are his pliant investiture. Laws are the currents of his will, flowing towards the ends of his reason. The breast of universal nature glows with his warmth. It enlivens even the grave, and the believer's flesh, feeling the Lord of the resurrection by, resteth in hope. When we reduce the work of the Spirit then in man, to a branch of the divine omnipresence, we seem, on the other part, to hear the eternal voice lift up itself to the worlds also, the forms, the forces, and thunder their holy inaugural through the burnished pillars of the universe, saying: "Know ye not that *ye* are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you"?

But observe more distinctly, the doctrine of God's omnipresence does not affirm that he is present to all things in the same sense. Presence being identical with act and sway, it has of course this law in itself, that God is present to each thing according to what it is, and according to what he is doing with it. Thus he is present to matter as matter and not as mind, molding its forms, constructing its incidents. To vegetable natures he is present according to what they are, and according to their several growths and kinds. So to a man he is present as animate in body, in spirit an image of himself. If a man falls into sin, he is then present to him as a sinner, offended by his transgressions and averse to his character. If he under-

takes to redeem, he is then present as prosecuting such an object; convincing of sin, righteousness, and a judgment to come. And now, if any one is brought to repentance, God is present to him in a still more intimate and glorious way. In all the orders of created being before named, God has found nothing to reciprocate his moral feelings; but here he finds something which suits and sympathizes with his joys, his principles, his whole spirit. Here his holiness enters into a resting-place and a congenial hospitality. He calls it his home, his palace, his sanctuary, and there he dwells, bestowing the cherishments of a God in friendship. This, by way of eminence, is called the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. But here the great law of omnipresence still pertains,—God is present to believers according to their character, their times, their works, their wants, and the great result he purposes to bring them to. We are to expect, of course, that there will be great variety in the manner of his presence, or, what is the same, in the kind of act and sway he will exert in them. He will strengthen what is good, fan out what is evil, shed peace, impart knowledge and understanding, invigorate hope, stimulate, try, purify,—in a word, he will order his agency in every way so as to communicate more of himself to them, and complete them in his likeness. So Paul, contemplating the Spirit in believers under the figure of an air-medium, common, or present, both to the divine mind and to ours, says: "the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God." Like some

breath of wind, which has passed through fragrant trees and banks of flowers, searching them and bringing grateful flavors of them; so the all-present Spirit ever wafts upon us the deep things, the hidden fragrance and the treasured sweetness of the divine nature.

The doctrine of divine agency in men amounts, then, to this,—that God is present to men, according to what they are and his purposes in them, just as he is present to material natures, according to what they are and what he will do with them. No man who believes in the divine omnipresence, the universal act and sway of God, can reasonably question the work of the Spirit in men. So far from being any presumptuous claim in us to think that God works in us to will and to do, that he may mold us unto himself, it is rather presumptuous to question it. To believe that God is present in act and sway to the vital functions of a finger, and not to a mind, or the character and welfare of a mind, is to reverse all notion of justness and real dignity in the divine counsels.

If these reasonings concerning the doctrine of divine agency are somewhat dry and abstruse to the general reader, it is yet hoped, that such as are more practiced in questions of this sort, will have a higher estimate of their importance. They enable us to enter on the spiritual economy of revivals at a great advantage, and from ground high enough to command the whole field.

It is too readily conceded, indeed it is often stoutly insisted on, even by those who may be called extreme revivalists, that everything of a periodical or temporary nature in religion is, of course, dishonorable and suspicious. The adversaries of revivals are ready, of course, to coincide. Further, they are specially offended, when it is claimed that God exercises any temporary or periodical sway in men. In their view it is nothing but a weak conceit, or the dream of a wild enthusiasm, when God is supposed to be specially operative in the conversion of men, at any particular time and place, or in any single community.

But if a periodical agency be so derogatory to God's honor, what shall be thought of the seasons, the intervals of drought and rain, and all the revolving cycles of outward change? If the adversaries of revivals believe in God's omnipresence, is there not a presence of act in all these things, according to their nature and his purpose in them, as there is supposed to be in the spiritual changes which affect communities? On their principle, nature ought to perfect her growths in the scorchings of an eternal sun, or in the drenchings of an everlasting rain, and the flowers ought to stand, from age to age, as changeless as petrifactions. They ought to see, from year to year, the same clouds in the same shapes glued fast upon the sky, and the same wind everlastingly exact to a degree of their thermometer ought to blow upon them. But no, nature is multiform and various on every side. She

is never doing exactly the same thing, at one time, which she has done at another. She brings forth all her bounties by inconstant applications and cherishments endlessly varied. A single thought extended in this direction were enough, it would seem, to show us that, while God is unchangeable, he is yet infinitely various; unchangeable in his purposes, various in his means.

Is it said however, that God acts in nature by general laws? So doubtless he does in the periodical and various cultivation of his Spirit. All God's works and agencies are embraced and wrought into one comprehensive system, by laws. Even miracles themselves are credible only as being, in some sense, subject to laws. But he is no less the author of variety, that he produces variety by system.

Is it said, that God produces the changes of nature by second causes? Is it meant, we ask in reply, to deny God's omnipresence? Having instituted second causes to manage for him, has the divine nature gone upon a journey, or is it, peradventure, asleep? Or is God still present (present, remember, by act and sway,) inhabiting all changes? The notion of a second cause in nature, consistent with the divine omnipresence,—meaning any thing by the term,—it is somewhat difficult to frame. And as God's omnipresence is an undoubted truth, it is better and more philosophic not to displace it by one that is doubtful.

But we pass on. And it is instructing to advert as we pass, to the various and periodical changes of tem-

perament which affect men in other matters than religion. Sometimes one subject has a peculiar interest to the mind, sometimes another. Sometimes the feelings chime with music, which again is not agreeable. Society of a given tone is shunned to-day, though eagerly sought yesterday. These fluctuations are epidemical too, extending to whole communities, and infecting them with an ephemeral interest in various subjects, which afterwards they themselves wonder at and can in no way recall. No observing public speaker ever failed to be convinced that man is a being, mentally, of moods and phases, which it were as vain to attempt the control of, as to push aside the stars. These fluctuations or mental tides are due, perhaps, to physical changes, and perhaps not. They roll round the earth like invisible waves, and the chemist and physician tax their skill in vain to find the subtle powers that sway us. We only know that God is present to these fluctuations, whatever their real nature, and that they are all inhabited by the divine power. Is it incredible, then, that this same divine power should produce periodical influences in the matter of religion; times of peculiar, various, and periodical interest? For ourselves we are obliged to confess, that we strongly suspect that sort of religion which boasts of no excitements, no temporary and changing states; for we observe that it is only towards nothing, or about nothing, that we have always the same feeling.

Need we say, again, that progress towards some end,

which is the law of all God's works and agencies, necessarily involves variety and change. Spring, for example, is the first stage of a progress. The newnesses, therefore, of spring, the first beginnings of growth, must wax old and change their habit. So it is impossible that the first feelings of religious interest in the heart should remain. There is a degree of excitation in the strangeness of new feelings, and so likewise in the early scenes of a revival of religion, which belongs to their novelty, and which is by no means inconsiderable or improper. Such is human nature that it could not be otherwise. In fact, there is no reason to doubt that God, in framing the plan or system of his spiritual agencies, ordained fluctuations and changing types of spiritual exercise, that he might take advantage, at intervals, of novelty in arresting and swaying the minds of men. These are the spring-times of his truth, otherwise in danger of uniform staleness. Thus he rouses the spiritual lethargy of men and communities and sways their will to himself, by aid of scenes and manifestations not ordinary or familiar. Nor is it any thing derogatory to the divine agency in the case, that the spiritual spring cannot remain perpetual; for there is a progress in God's works, and he goes on through change and multiform culture to ripen his ends. Doubtless too, there may be a degree of sound feeling apart from all novelty, in a revival of religion, which human nature is incompetent permanently to sustain; just as one may have a degree of intellectual excitement and intensity

of operation, which he cannot sustain, but which is nevertheless a sound and healthy activity. In writing a sermon, for example, every minister draws on a fund of excitability, which he knows cannot be kept up beyond a certain bound, and this without any derogation from his proper sanity.

But we come to a stage in the subject, where the advantage of our doctrine of spiritual agency is to be more manifest. God has a given purpose to execute, we have said, in those who have entered on the religious life, viz., to produce character in them. To this end he dwells in them, and this is the object of his spiritual culture. And here, at the beginning, he encounters the general truth, that varieties of experience and exercise are necessary to the religious character. How then shall he adjust the scale of his action, if not to produce all such varieties as are necessary for his object? We have just remarked on the changes of temperament in men and communities, by which now one, now another theme is brought to find a responsive note of interest. What is the end of this? Obviously it is that we may be practiced in all the many-colored varieties of feeling, and led over a wide empire of experience. Were it not for this, or if men were to live on from childhood to the grave in the same mood of feeling, and holding fast to the same unvarying topic of interest, they would grow to be little more than animals of one thought. To prevent which, and ripen what we call natural character to extension and maturity, God is ever leading

us round and round invisibly, by new successions of providence and new affinities of feeling. Precisely the same necessity requires that religious character be trained up under varieties of experience, and shaped on all sides by manifold workings of the Spirit. Now excitements must be applied to kindle, now checks to inspire caution or invigorate dependence. Now the intellect must be fed by a season of study and reflection; now the affections freshened by a season of social and glowing ardor. By one means bad habits are to be broken up, by another good habits consolidated. Love, it is true, must reign in the heart through all such varieties; but the principle of supreme love is one that can subsist in a thousand different connections of interest and temperaments of feeling. At one time it demands for its music a chorus of swelling voices to bear aloft its exulting testimony of praise; at another it may chime rather with the soft and melancholy wail just dying on its ear. And so, in like manner, it needs a diversity of times, exercises, duties, and holy pleasures. It needs, and for that reason it has, not only revivals and times of tranquillity, but every sort of revival, every sort of tranquillity. Sometimes we are revived individually, sometimes as churches, sometimes as a whole people, and we have all degrees of excitation, all manner of incidents. Our more tranquil periods are sometimes specially occupied, or ought to be, in the correction of evil habits; or we are particularly interested in the study of religious doctrines necessary

to the vigor of our growth and usefulness; or we are interested to acquire useful knowledge of a more general nature, in order to our public influence, and the efficient discharge of our offices. In revivals we generally prefer the more social spheres of religious exercise; so now the more private and solitary experiences may be cultivated. Such is the various travail, which God has given to the sons of men, to be exercised therewith.

Another end prosecuted by the Spirit, in his work, is the empowering of the Christian body, and the extension of good, through them and otherwise, to the hearts of others. Here also there is no doubt that changes and seasons of various exercise, like these called revivals, add to the real power of the faith. We are so prone to think nothing of that which always wears exactly the same color and look, that holiness itself needs to change its habit and voice to command notice, or impress itself on the attention. The power too of the Christian body rests, in the main, on its appearing to the world to be inhabited and swayed by an agency above nature. And this can never appear, except by means of changes and periodical exaltations therein. Nature would make no manifestation of him who dwells in her forms, if all stood motionless; if the sun stood fast and clear in everlasting noon; if there were no births, decays, explosions, surprises. Nature is called the garment of the Almighty, but if there were no motion under the garment, it would seem a shroud rather than a gar-

ment of life. God is manifested in nature by the wheeling spheres, light, shade, tranquillity, storm,—all the beauties and terrors of time. So the Spirit will reveal his divine presence through the church, by times of holy excitement, times of reflection, times of solitary communion, times of patient hope. A church standing always in the same exact posture and mold of aspect would be only a pillar of salt in the eyes of men; it would attract no attention, reveal no inhabitation of God's power. But suppose that now, in a period of no social excitement, it is seen to be growing in attachment to the bible and the house of God, storing itself with divine or useful knowledge, manifesting a heavenly minded habit in the midst of a general rage for gain, devising plans of charity to the poor and afflicted, reforming offensive habits, chastening bosom sins,—suppose, in short, that principles adopted in a former revival are seen to hold fast as principles, to prove their reality and unfold their beauty, when there is no longer any excitement to sustain them; here the worth and reality of religious principles are established. And now let the Spirit move this solid enginery once more into glowing activity, let the church, thus strengthened, be lifted into spiritual courage and exaltation, and its every look and act will seem to be inhabited by a divine power; it will be as the chariot of God, and before it even stubbornness will tremble.

We have spoken already of the probable fact, that God has designed to take advantage of novelty in his

plan of spiritual action. Quite as great an addition is made to the efficacy of his operations, by the advantage he takes of the social instincts of men. There is no impression which is not powerfully augmented by participation. What a community, what a crowded assembly feels is powerfully felt. Hence it is an article of the divine economy in revivals, that whole communities shall be moved together, as it were by common gales of the Spirit. The hold thus taken of men is powerful, often to a degree even tremendous, and many a covenant with death is disannulled which no uniform or unvaried tenor of divine agency, no mere personal and private dealing of the Spirit, would ever have shaken.

There is one more advantage taken of men by periodical or temporary dispensations, in the very fact that they are temporary. The judgment and observation of many who preach the gospel will bear us witness that the certainty felt by those who are at any time enlightened and drawn by the Spirit, that they will not long be dealt with in the same manner as now, that by delay they may dismiss the present grace, and lose the most favored moment given them to secure their salvation, is the strongest and most urgent of all motives. This, in fact, is absolutely requisite to the stress and cogency of all means and agencies. Such is the procrastinating spirit of men, so fast bound are they in the love of sin, that however deeply they may feel their own guilty and lost estate, nothing but the fact that God is now giving

them opportunities and aids which are peculiar and temporary would ever foreclose delay. We need look no farther to see the folly of supposing, that God must not act periodically or variously, if he act at all, in renewing men. Why act uniformly when it would defeat all the ends of action?

This attempt to exhibit the spiritual economy of God in revivals might be prosecuted much farther. It would be useful too, if we could stop here to admire the wisdom of God's spiritual husbandry, the systematic grandeur with which he compasses all his ends, and the illustrious honor that shines in his works of grace.

But we must hasten forward. And here, on the second side, or the side of dishonor, we pass to views and exhibitions less agreeable, though not, we hope, less welcome.

We should be sorry, if in what we have advanced, a shadow of countenance has been given to the impression that the Christian is allowed, at some times, to be less religious than at others. He is under God's authority and bound by his law at all times. He must answer to God for each moment and thought of his life. His covenant oath consecrates all his life to God, and stipulates for no intermission of service. At no time can he shrink from religious obligation, without dishonor to his good faith, together with a loss of character and of God's favor. Furthermore still, it is his duty and privilege ever to be filled with the

Spirit. The believer is one chosen for his indwelling, thus consecrated to be the divine temple. And God will never leave his temple, except he is driven away by profanation,—grieved away. "I have somewhat against thee," said the Saviour, "because thou hast left thy first love." He did not require, of course, that the novelty and first excitement of feeling should last, but that love, the real principle of love, should lose ground in them was criminal. Let us not be mistaken. The Christian is as much under obligation at one time as at another, though not under obligation to be ever doing the same things; no intermission, no wavering or slackness is permitted him; nay, he is bound to increase, or gather strength in his religious principles, every day and hour of his existence.

But how shall we harmonize this with what we have advanced in the first side of our subject? The answer is this: God favors and appoints different moods or kinds of religious interest, but not backslidings, or declensions of religious principle. There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. There are diversities of operation, but it is the same God who worketh all and in all. There is a common mistake of supposing that the Spirit of God is present in times only of religious exaltation, or if it be true, that such need be the case. It is conceivable, that he may be doing as glorious a work in the soul, when there is but a very gentle, or almost no excitement of feeling. He may now be leading the mind after instruction, teaching the believer how to collect himself and establish a

regimen over his lawless will and passions, searching the motives, inducing a habit of reflection, teaching how to carry principles without excitement, drawing more into communion perhaps with God, and less for the time with men. And while the disciple is conducted through these rounds of heavenly discipline, we are by no means to think, that he is, of course, less religious, or has less supreme love to God, than he had in the more fervid season of revival. A soldier is as much a soldier when he encamps as when he fights, when he stands with his loins girt about, and his feet shod with the preparation, as when he quenches the fiery darts of the enemy. The Christian warfare is not all battle. There are times in it for polishing the armor, forming the tactics, and feeding the vigor of the host.

These remarks bring us to conclude, that there is, in what we call revivals of religion, something of a periodical nature, which belongs to the appointed plan of God in his moral operations; but as far as they are what the name imports, revivals of *religion*, that is, of the principle of love and obedience, they are linked with dishonor; so far they are made necessary by the instability and bad faith of Christ's disciples. But here it must be noted, that the dishonor does not belong to the revival, but to the decay of principle in the disciple, which needs reviving. There ought to be no declension of real principle; but if there is, no dishonor attaches to God in recovering his disciple from it, but the more illustrious honor. Thus it is

very often true, when a revival seems to have an extreme character, that the fact is due, not to the real state produced, but to the previous fall, the dearth and desolation with which it is contrasted. And commonly, if the ridicule, thrown upon a revival, were thrown upon the worldliness, the dishonorable looseness of life and principle which preceded, it would not be misplaced.

We now pass on to a stage, in which dishonor attaches to the scene of revival itself. This is when it takes an extreme character, which is not given it by the Spirit of God, but originates in some mistake of opinion, or extravagance of conduct in the subjects and conductors. We cannot pretend here to specify every sort of error which may vitiate a revival, or give it an extreme character; but we will note a few leading mistakes which have a prevalent influence.

And a capital mistake is that of supposing, that we ought to have a revival, so-called, or the exact mood of a revival, at all times. It is taken for granted, when the peculiar fervor of the work begins to abate, that the disciples are sinking into sloth and criminal decay, and never, that the Spirit is now giving a varied complexion to his work. Prodigious efforts are made to rally the church to renewed activity. The voice of supplication is tried. But all in vain; it is praying against God and nature, and must be vain. Not that it must be vain in every case; but only in cases where God's plan is otherwise ordered, or where the natural excitabilities of the

church are so far exhausted as to demand a different sort of exercise. Effort spent in this way produces additional exhaustion and discouragement. A tedious intermission of life follows. At length the susceptibilities of nature to excitement and attention recruit themselves, as by a very long sleep, and there flames out another period of over-worked zeal to be succeeded as before. If, instead of such a course, the disciple was taught, as the revival, so-called, declines, that God is now leading him into a new variety of spiritual experience, where he has duties to discharge, as clear, as high, as in the revival itself; if he were encouraged to feel that God is still with him; if he were shown what to do and how to improve the new variety of state, taught the art of growing in the long run, how to make the dews, the rain, the sun, and the night, all lend their aid alike; in a word, if he were taught the great Christian art of discerning the mind of the Spirit, so that he shall be ever pliant thereto, and not to pass reluctantly into his progressive moods of culture and duty; can any one fail to see, that extremities of action would thus be greatly reduced? He has not some strained and forced sort of religion to live always, which, after all, no straining or forcing can make live. The pendulum swings in smaller vibrations. There is no wide chasm of dishonor, no strained pitch of extravagance, but only a sacred ebb and flow of various but healthful zeal. It is the great evil in that sort of teaching, which insists on the duty of being always in what is called a revival state, that

it tries to force an impossible religion. The supposed obligation is assented to, and the Christian struggles hard to answer it. But nature struggles against him, being utterly unable to keep up such a state. At length he yields, in a perplexed and half-despairing manner, not knowing what it means. Still he owns very dutifully that it is his sin, and as he tries no more to avoid it, he seems to himself to be sinning by actual and daily consent; and this becomes in fact the real temper of his heart. He gives over all care of his spirit, violates his conscience in other ways, since he must do it in one, and sinks into extreme declension. More judicious views of duty would have saved him.

The feeling, extensively prevalent, that if anything is to be done in religion, some great operation must be started, is another pernicious mistake. The ordinary must give way to the extraordinary. Machinery must be constructed, and a grand palpable onset moved. Let it not be suspected that we are afraid of all stir and excitement. The views advanced in the former part of our subject should teach us higher wisdom. The greatest and best actions have ever been performed in stages of excited feeling and high personal exaltation. Nothing was ever achieved, in the way of a great and radical change in men or communities, without some degree of excitement; and if any one expects to carry on the cause of salvation by a steady rolling on the same dead level, and fears continually lest the axles wax hot and kindle into a

flame, he is too timorous to hold the reins in the Lord's chariot. What we complain of and resist is, the artificial firework, the extraordinary, combined jump and stir, supposed to be requisite when any thing is to be done. It seems often not to be known, that there is a more efficacious way, and that the extraordinary got up in action, as in rhetoric, is impotence itself. It must come to pass naturally, or emerge as a natural crisis of the ordinary, if it is to have any consequence. How often would the minister of Christ, for example, who is trying to marshal a movement, do a more effectual work in simply reviewing his own deficiencies of heart and duty, charging himself anew with his responsibilities, and devoting himself more faithfully to his people and to God's whole truth! A secret work thus begun, is enough to heave in due time a whole community; and it is the more powerful, because it moves in the legitimate order of action. It begins, bowing to duty first and chief, and leaves results for the most part to come in their natural shape. It works in the hand of God, trustfully, humbly, pertinaciously, and following whithersoever he leads. And when God leads his servant, as certainly he will, into a crisis of great moment, he is in it naturally, he molds it unto himself, as if constituted for the time to be its presiding power.

Where too much is made of conversions, or where they are taken as the measure of all good, it has a very injurious influence. The saying constantly repeated and without qualification, that it is the great

business of the gospel and of Christian effort to convert men, has about as much error as truth in it. As well might it be said, that the great business of travelers is to set out on journeys. The great business of the gospel is to form men to God. Conversion, if it be any thing which it ought to be, is the beginning of the work, and the convert is a disciple, a scholar, just beginning to learn. If all the attention of the church then be drawn to the single point of securing conversions, without any regard to the ripening of them; if it be supposed that nothing is of course doing when there are no conversions; if there is no thought of cultivation, no valuation of knowledge and character, no conviction of the truth that one Christian well formed and taken care of is worth a hundred mere beginners, who are in danger perhaps of proving that they never began at all; if revivals themselves are graduated in their value only by the number of converts, and Christians in declension are called to repentance *only for the sake of the unconverted public;* the whole strain of movement and impression is one-sided, distorted, and tinctured with inherent extravagance.

We name only one more mistake having a pernicious influence on the character of revivals, which is, the want of a judicious estimate of the advantages to be gained, in times of non-revival. This is the great practical error of our times. Let it startle no one, if we declare our conviction, that religion has as deep an interest in the proper conduct of times of

non-revival, as in these periods of glowing excitement. For many religious purposes, and those not the least important, a revival is less advantageous than other times. There is very little trial of principle in a revival, as is proved by facts always developed afterwards, in some of the brightest examples of supposed conversion. The time, pre-eminently the time to strengthen principle and consolidate character, is when there is no public excitement. And for this reason, God's spiritual husbandry includes such times, and makes them so prolonged as to constitute the greater part of life, showing very conclusively the estimate he has of them. At such times, the disciple is occupied more in study and doctrine, in self-inspection, in contemplation of God, in acting from principle separately from impulse. In times of revival, foundations are broken up, and new impulses received; now, these impulses are consolidated into principle, and permanently enthroned in the heart. This, at least, ought to be so. And because it is not, revivals, when they come, have less power, and a more limited sphere of influence. They are looked on often, by those who weigh their effects, as only shallow frets of excitement, and in many cases, none but the less considerate and feebler class of minds feel their power. Let not the intervals of revival be undervalued, or the duties belonging to them disesteemed. Great occasions are not necessary to good actions. To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the sun. HE HATH MADE EVERY THING BEAUTIFUL IN HIS TIME.

We have thus attempted to ascertain the divine economy in revivals of religion. We see them to be in no degree desultory, except as they partake of human errors and infirmities. They lie imbedded in that great system of universal being and event, which the divine omnipresence fills, actuates, and warms Here they are cherished, and will be, as long as the redemption of man is dear to the eternal heart, and constitutes one of the ends of God's pursuit. As the gospel gains enlargement in the world, and the Christian mind is enlightened, they will gradually lose their extreme and dishonorable incidents, and will constitute an ebb and flow, measured only by the pulses of the Spirit. The church will then make a glowing, various, and happy impression. Her armor, though changed, will always shine, and will have a celestial temper in it. Changing her front, she will yet always present a host clad in the full panoply of God.

But really to act on views like these, and give them their legitimate effect, would require the gospel ministers, or many of them, to change somewhat the tone, and enlarge the sphere of their instructions. Many would need to acquire a nicer, more complete and proportional sense of character themselves, and thus learn to go beyond the line of exercises which only urge repentance, and test the state of their people. By this confined method, this continual beating on the same spot, they only produce a sense of soreness, which recoils from their attempts. It were only necessary to open the epistles of Paul, we should sup-

pose, to see, that he moved in a range of topics and duties which find no place in the concern of many modern preachers,—discontent, envy, anger, jealousy, ambition, gentleness, purity, modesty, decency, candor, industry,—a catalogue that cannot be recited. We see at once, that he does not regard the religious character in his converts as a thing by itself, a conversion well tested and followed by a few duties specially religious. He considered the whole character of the disciple,—mind, manners, habits, principles,—as the Lord's property. He felt that the gospel was intended and fitted to act on every thing evil and ungraceful in man's character, and applied it to that purpose. And thus he sought to present his disciples perfect and complete in all the will of God; a much more difficult and laborious way of preaching than the one to which indolence, we fear, now adds prevalence. Let the minister of truth then occupy such intervals as are suitable, and which we have supposed to be ordered of the Spirit for that purpose, in forming the character of his people to things lovely and of good report. Let him take advantage of scripture history, and especially of the history of Christ's life and manners, to draw out illustrations of character, and beget what is so much needed by the Christian body, a sense of character, of moral beauty and completeness. Let him not use the parable of the talents always to enforce the duty of usefulness. Sometimes, at least, let mention be made of doubling the talents, making the ten twenty, the five ten. Let

him follow the people into their business, into their civil duties, and especially into their domestic relations; showing the manner in which children may be trained up as Christians in the nurture of the Lord; seeking to surround the Christian homes with Christian graces; teaching how to make them pleasant to the youth, and at the same time spiritually healthful. And let him do all this in the manner of Paul or Oberlin, as a work of the Spirit, a work into which the Holy Spirit leads him as truly as into any other. The tendrils of the vines are small things, but yet they support the grapes. In like manner this disposition to adorn the doctrine of Christ by a nice obedience and a faithful copying of the Saviour, is that which knits the Christian, tendril-like, to God's support. On the other hand, the gross movement, always aiming at a chief point of Christian character, without any care to finish a Christian conscience and a Christian taste, is only trying to make the vines adhere by their trunks.

We are not without a sense of deep responsibility in giving these views to the public. If they are misunderstood or misapplied, they may work incredible injury. We are anxious indeed, lest they be perverted to the justification of real declension from God and made to sanction a lower and perhaps more inconstant piety than we now have. And yet we are sure that they provide for a higher class of attainments, a more constant growth towards God, and favor the preparation of a new order of Christians who shall

really walk by faith from year to year. In showing the use and necessity of times of non-revival, we do not justify the present habit of Christian declension in these intervals; we rather show the sinfulness of it, that it is unnecessary, that it is a rank abuse of sacred means and privileges. We make it possible for the Christian at such times to be as holy, to do as good a work, to have the communion of God as really as in a revival, and since it is possible to be done, it is only faithlessness, without excuse, when it is otherwise.

Our doctrine naturally terminates here,—in proving it to be the great business and art of the Christian to watch for the mind of the Spirit, and shape the life evermore pliantly thereto. They that walk in the Spirit, shall be led by the Spirit; this we firmly believe. Hence the Saviour was at great pains to inculcate on the disciples readiness, watching for their Lord's coming, and observation of the signs of the times. And his Spirit is to help their infirmity of discernment, and guide them by his intercessions or inward intercourses to such praying, such work and occupations as are according to God's will. "I will guide thee with mine eye," is the sure declaration of God. But in order to this, the Christian must look at the indications of his eye; and in order to this he must have a single eye himself. He must walk by faith, he must never acquiesce in sin, he must never allow the world to get dominion over him. Doing this, he will be directed what to do, and where to go,

exercised in the best ways, led to perform the best service. The EYE OF THE LORD will lead him about through all the rounds of the Spirit, and the glory of the divine holiness will ever encompass him.

O Christian! man renewed by grace, dost thou indeed believe that God inhabits thee with his holiness, and makes thee his temple? Be thou then a temple indeed, a sacred place to him. Exclude covetousness; make not thy Father's house a house of merchandize. Deem every sin a sacrilege. Let all thy thoughts within, like white-robed priests, move round the altar and keep the fire burning. Let thine affections be always a cloud, filling the room and inwrapping thy priest-like thoughts. Let thy hallowed desires be ever fanning the mercy-seat with their wings.

VI.

PULPIT TALENT.*

There was never a time, I think, when so much was made of talented preaching, and talents for preaching, as now. I wish we understood a good deal better what we mean by it. Every young candidate wants the talents of course, and everybody is very decided in the opinion that he must have them. Even the little new hamlets crowded under the woods, and the third-rate water-power villages sprinkled along the brooks, have made up their minds that they too must have a talented preacher; only they are not always quite clear as to what may be necessary to make one. Indeed, they are not as much baffled commonly in the matter of salvation itself as in finding just the minister that is worthy of them. The general refrain is: "Do not our people want as good a preacher as anybody?" And the real wonder often felt and sometimes expressed is that our schools, finding how much a larger supply of Beechers is wanted,

*Delivered before the Porter Rhetorical Society of Andover Seminary, at their Anniversary in 1866.

do not turn out the number demanded. Nay, there is, I fear, a silent scolding of Providence that so few of them are born, when the world is overstocked by such myriads of men propagated in the common figure. The result is, that the young men, looking out on the field and preparing for it, are either prodigiously elated in the confidence that they have just the talents required, as perhaps they have been told by their admiring comrades; or else that they are miserably crushed by the discouraging prospect before them, because nobody has told them that they have any talent at all, and their modesty if not their real lack has withheld them from the consciousness of ar[illegible].

Most wretched and pitiful are the hallucinations here encountered. These forty hundred or forty thousand churches, looking every one after a talented preacher, will certainly not get one; and the few that are boasting their success will be discovering almost certainly, after a while, that they have been a little mistaken. Almost as certainly the young men, going out with so great expectations, will find, a great part of them, that they do not catch the popular approval after all; or, if they do, will shortly be obliged to discover that they are much closer down to mediocrity than they supposed. Meantime, of those who go out in a tremor of weakness and discouragement, some at least will begin to be set on powerfully by a hidden force they were unconscious of and which did not enter into the computations of their friends. And so

it will be shown, both by cases of unexpected failure and of equally surprising success, that factors are concerned in preaching not commonly included in our computations. What I propose, therefore, at the present time is, to discover, if I can, these hidden factors, and by that means right our conceptions where they seem to falter. And I have a considerable hope that, by a certain process, it may be done.

Attempts are often made in this direction that are much more distinctively Christian than what I now propose, and so far more genuine; but which, partly for that reason, do not succeed according to their merit. They undertake to show, and do really show, that preaching is not grounded in mere talent, but is and must forever be a divine gift. No man, they insist, ever becomes a prophet or a powerful Christian preacher in whom this divine gift is wanting. And here is the reason, they allege, why so many talented preachers come to nothing, and why so many that seemed to have little promise at first finally obtain so great power and conquer a degree of success so unexpected. We generally assent to this kind of argument, because it is honorable to religion, and what is more, because it coincides with some very plain teachings of Scripture. But the difficulty is that the truth asserted is too particularly spiritual, and requires too much faith to hold us up to it; therefore, we fall away from it shortly and, forgetting ourselves, begin again to base our calculations of promise on mere judgments of natural force; that is, on the talents as

forces. What I propose therefore on the present occasion, is to follow the bad method myself; to subside into just this plane of unbelief or non-belief, and show that, resting, as we so perversely do, all promise for the pulpit on mere computations of personal talent, we still need a complete revision commonly of our judgments, because of the very insufficient conceptions we have of the pulpit talents themselves. I shall make out, if I am successful, a larger inventory of the talents, and one that more sufficiently measures the personal momenta necessary to success.

As we commonly speak, it takes just four talents to make a great preacher; namely,—a talent of high scholarship; a metaphysical and theologic thinking talent; style or a talent for expression; and a talent of manner and voice for speaking. In these four talents the young men of the schools commonly settle their comparisons, and graduate their prognostications of success. The people too, so far as they think any thing definitely in the matter, have no doubt that these four things will make up the man they are to seek. We may therefore call these four the canonical talents, for they certainly have that kind of pre-eminence.

Now, about the real importance of these four there is little room to doubt, and the high opinion held of them already makes it unnecessary to raise an argument for them. Our seminaries of learning lay their stress on these, and exist in no small degree for the

culture of these; for these four, it happens, are the specially cultivatable talents. And so much being expended on them naturally induces a comparative over-valuation, which makes it necessary to pass them under review, if we are to get the scale of our inventory settled to a right adjustment.

It is very clear then, first of all, that a dolt in scholarship is not likely to become a great preacher. And it is about equally clear that one may be an easy, rapid learner, in the sense of acquisition, and be really nobody. Sometimes it will be found that a scholar preacher, who is partly somebody, will even kill a tolerable sermon by letting his scholarship into it. And then again it will sometimes be found that a preacher, who is only not a scholar because he has never had the opportunity to be, will unfold the very highest preaching power in the field of mere practice, as we see by some noble examples among the great preachers of Methodism. Still even such, if we cannot speak of their scholarship, will be as far as possible from the state of ignorance. Meantime, if it be not true, as it certainly is not, that the preachers from a given school will be graduated in their preaching merit and power by the amount of their learning, it must not be understood that we have in such a fact any derogation from the value of learning. In such an age as this, we must have a proportion at least of learned men in the cause of religion. Indeed, every preacher wants in a certain view, if it could be so, to

know very nearly every thing. And yet let him not mistake. Books are not every thing by a great deal. It is even one of the sad things about book-learning that it so easily becomes a limitation upon souls, and a kind of dry rot in their vigor. The receptive faculty absorbs the generative, and the scholarhood sucks up the manhood. An oak that should undertake to be a sponge would not long be much of an oak. I know not how to put this matter of scholarship better than to say that it needs to be universal; to be out in God's universe, that is, to see, and study, and know every thing, books and men and the whole work of God from the stars downward; to have a sharp observation of war, and peace, and trade,—of animals, and trees, and atoms,—of the weather, and the evanescent smells of the creations; to have bored into society in all its grades and meanings, its manners, passions, prejudices, and times; so that, as the study goes on, the soul will be getting full of laws, images, analogies, and facts, and drawing out all subtlest threads of import to be its interpreters when the preaching work requires. Of what use is it to know the German when we do not know the human? Or to know the Hebrew points when we do not know at all the points of our wonderfully punctuated humanity? A preacher wants a full store-house of such learning, and then he wants the contents all shut in, so that they can never one of them get out, only as they leap out unbidden to help him and be a language for him. It should even be as if he had a sky-full of helpers

thronging to his aid when they are not sent for, and endowing him with ministrations of power when they do not show their faces. As far as the preacher is concerned, this large, free kind of scholarship is the only kind that will do him much good.

The metaphysical and theologic thinking talent has a deeper and more positive vigor. There cannot be much preaching worthy of the name where there is no thinking. Preaching is nothing but the bursting out of light, which has first burst in or up from where God is, among the soul's foundations. And to this end, great and heavy discipline is wanted, that the soul may be drilled into orderly right working. And yet a merely cold, scientific thinking is vicious. The method of preaching is not the scientific method. The true thinking here is the original insight of premises or first things, and not the building of cob-house structures round them. An immense overdoing in the way of analysis often kills a sermon, if it does not quite kill the preacher. Death itself is a great analyzer, and nothing ever comes out of the analyzing process fully alive. There is a great deal of anatomizing thought, but it is the weakest, cheapest kind of thought that flesh is heir to. The formulizing kind of thought is but a little better. True preaching struggles right away from formula, back into fact, and life, and the revelation of God and heaven. It is a flaming out from God; it reproves, testifies, calls, promises; thinking always of the angels going up to report progress, not of the answers

formulated for a catechism. I make no objection to formulas; they are good enough in their place, and a certain instinct of our nature is comforted in having some articulations of results thought out to which our minds may refer. Formulas are the jerked meat of salvation,—if not always the strong meat, as many try to think,—dry and portable and good to keep, and when duly seethed and softened, and served with needful condiments, just possible to be eaten; but for the matter of living, we really want something fresher and more nutritious. On the whole, the kind of thinking talent wanted for a great preacher is that which piercingly loves; that which looks into things and through them, plowing up pearls and ores, and now and then a diamond. It will not seem to go on metaphysically, or scientifically, but with a certain round-about sense and vigor. And the people will be gathered to it because there is a gospel fire burning in it that warms them to a glow. This is power.

The rhetorical talent or talent of style is a very great gift, and one that can be largely cultivated. But the ambition of style, or the consciousness of it, does not always need to be. Neither is it always any great sign for a preacher that he shows a considerable luxury in this kind of excellence. About the weakest, falsest kind of merit, and most opposite to good preaching, is the studied, common-place-book style. A great many preachers die of style, that is, of trying to soar; when, if they would only consent to go afoot as their ideas do, they might succeed and live. Sophist

and rhetorician were very nearly synonymous in the classic days; for they had the same trade then of taking men by a seeming, or a pretentious lie, as now. The preacher wants of course to know his mother tongue, and have a clear, correct, and forcible way of expression in it. And then, if he has really something strong enough to say, to call in angels of imagery that excel in strength to help him say it, there is no kind of symbol observed by him, in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, that will not be at hand to lend him wings and lift him into the necessary heights of expression. But the moment these aërial creatures begin to see that they are wanted for garnish, and not for truth's sake, they will hide like partridges in the bush. To get up grand expressions in the manner of some, and then go a hunting after only weak ideas to put into them, is the very absurdest and wickedest violation possible of the second commandment. No man has a right to say any beautiful or powerful thing till he gets some thoughts beautiful and powerful enough to require it. Only good and great matter makes a good and great style. It is not difficult for power to be strong, or for any real fire to burn. But mere rhetorical fire will neither shake nor burn any thing. And just here it is that the prodigious promise of so many young men is overestimated. Could they only understand how great a thing in style is honesty, simple, self-forgetting honesty, their would-be fine, or fanciful, or sublime would fall away, and they would finally rise just as much

higher, even in style, as the cast-off trumpery of their affectations and laborious inanities permits them to rise. Simple modesty, earnest conviction,—what a lifting of the doom of impoteuce would they be to many!

What is called the speaking talent is often misconceived in the same way. It is mostly a natural talent, though it can be modulated and chastened by criticism. But the difficulty is, that such kind of discipline has to be commonly dispensed, before the subject is sufficiently advanced in age and maturity of perception to have any thing on hand that is at all worthy of a manner, or indeed even possible for it. How can he fitly speak sentiments before he has them and knows the weight of them? If he takes the boards in a declamation, astonishing everybody by the wondrous figure he makes, and compelling his auditors to imagine what a preacher he is destined to be, it is more likely by far that he is destined to be a very indifferent speaker in the humblest type of mediocrity. I have never known a great college declaimer that became a remarkable preacher; but I have known them that could only stammer and saw, and tilt up their rising inflections to the general pity of their audience, who became natural at once when they began to speak their own sentiments, and obtained great power in delivery. Meantime, this special fact in preaching is not always remembered, that the artistic air kills every thing. The discovery of art is very nearly fatal everywhere, and is never in fit place

save when it garnishes temptation,—to make the devil weaker than he would be. The absurdest thing ever believed by mankind is the story of Demosthenes and his pebbles: first, because it made such a hard time for his mouth; and second, because it made such a hard time for the pebbles; and third, because it made even a harder time for the sea that was obliged to hear such mouthings. All the worse if a speaker so trained gets to be absolutely faultless; for that is about the greatest fault possible. I have heard preaching more than once, that became first wearisome, then shortly disgusting, for the simple reason that the manner was so perfectly shaped by skill and self-regulation. After such an exhibition, it is even refreshing to imagine the great "babbler" at Athens, jerking out his grand periods, and stammering his thunder in a way so uncouth as to be even a little comtemptible to himself. He at least meant what he said, and because he did, was able to bring himself out in respect at the close. In just the same way, there are many young men who are thought to have no speaking talent, and are greatly depressed themselves because they have none, some of whom may yet become preachers of Christ in the highest rank of power and genuine eloquence.

We find then, as a result of this review, that the four canonical talents, always valuable, are yet certain, many times, to be no true signs of success. A man may be a scholar and yet no preacher; he may be a tough thinker and great metaphysician and yet

no preacher; gifted in style, or thought to be, and yet no preacher; an accomplished and fine speaker and yet no preacher. Whence it also follows, that he may be all four, and yet no preacher. All auguries therefore from them are found every day to miscarry. In which we perceive beforehand, that there must be other talents lurking somewhere that require to be brought into the computation.

I shall name accordingly as many as six or seven others, three of which are more or less necessary to all kinds of speaking, though more nearly indispensable in preaching; and three that are preëminently preaching talents, in distinction from all others; together with a fourth that only works indirectly.

In the former class then, first of all, I name what may be called the talent for growth. Some men never grow. They grew, and that was the end of it. They excelled in the school, and gave the highest promise in their first effort at preaching. But they are soon at their limit, which limit they will never pass. No matter how great their industry and fidelity, they will never advance upon themselves; and if you wait for them to come on, the strange thing will be that they do not come an inch. They appear to have all the talents, and have them in full order, but somehow the law of increment is wanting. Their capital is good enough, but it is invested so as to gather no *per cent.* of interest money. It is as if their mind grew dimensionally with their body, and stopped when the

vegetative principle of that came to its limit. Now there is another kind of souls that mature more slowly and under a different law. Increment is their destiny. Their force makes force. What they gather seems to enlarge their very brain. Nobody thought of them at first as having much promise. Their faculty was thin and slow. They were put down among the mediocrities. But while the other class are flagstaffs only, these are real trees, going to create themselves like trees by a kind of predestined increment. By and by it begins to be seen that they move. Somebody finally speaks of them. Their sentiments are growing bigger, their opinions are getting weight, ideas are breaking in and imaginations breaking out, and the internal style of their souls, thus lifted, lifts the style of their expression. They at length get the sense of position, and then a certain majesty of consciousness adds weight to their speech. And finally the wonderful thing about them is that they keep on growing, confounding all expectation, getting all the while more breadth and richness, and covering in their life, even to its close, with a certain evergreen freshness that is admirable and beautiful to behold.

Now it makes little difference whether we refer this faculty of improvableness, this wonderfully cumulative property, to a talent of growth in all the talents, or to some function of endowment that is more general. That some persons have the distinction is indisputable. The other class who are deficient in it will work as hard and strain their application to as high a key,

and yet they will not grow in the process, any more than a violin that has been thumbed, and sawed, and kept throbbing with a body full of sound for a hundred years. If we ask why it is that such application misses the natural terms of reward, it may be that they have sometimes overstrained their powers; or it may be that they work too much in the line of scholarhood and only get their souls incrusted by the mere cliency of their habit; even as the egg, that was growing briskly in its first free state, enlarges never by a line after it has found maturity in a shell. Or it may be that they get over-conservative, which is the same thing as secreting a shell, and then, even as the egg may keep up a prodigious conatus of vitality within, making no advance in dimensions, so their industry creates no movement of growth.

If then, we are to guess what amount of promise there may be in any body of young men who are going forth to assert themselves in the ways of speech and public influence, it is very important to know who has and who has not the talent of protracted improvability; who can wax mighty and weighty by the longest pull of increment, for that is even a kind of genius. Nowhere else, save in the matter of genius, are mankind distinguished as widely as here; and the distinction is one that specially concerns every preacher, in the fact that he is obliged to stay by his place, and keep on in his work, and provide his own subjects, and set his people on by a correspondent growth in themselves.

I name again, as another talent which greatly concerns all public speaking and more especially preaching, because this latter requires to be more piercing and carry its effects on larger assemblies, what may be called the individualizing power. At this point there is a very great difference in the personality function of men; a difference great enough to be designated as a talent. One will go before an audience and see nobody in particular in it. He will give them forth a really grand sermon, it may be, with as little aim, or particularity of aim, as a gunner firing into Charleston five miles off. If any soul in the assembly is hit, it is only because the general aim had that chance in it. His eye did not preach, but only his tongue; whereas the eye-bolts of a great preacher may be swifter, more piercing, and in better aim than those of the tongue. Mere tongue-speaking, in this view, is pointless. It will do in the senate. It will possibly do at the polls. It is more deficient at the bar, where every juryman needs to imagine that he is particularly looked after. In preaching, the deficiency is almost fatal. I have in mind, when I speak in this manner, a certain preacher who was conspicuous only because he was effective, and was effective only because of the wonderfully distributive power of his address, not because of any remarkable merit in the style, or thought, or substance of his sermon. That keen, gray, individualizing eye,—it was shooting everywhere, into every body. Not five minutes passed before every person in the assembly began to feel that

the preacher's two six-shooters were leveled directly at him. Generalities were soon gone by, and the dealing was become a very personal matter. So by this one talent of individualizing, which perhaps was never called a talent, and without any other of much note, he became wonderfully effective.

Now let any man try to command this sort of power who is indeterminate and vague in his habit and without eyes, and he will soon begin to show how much of a talent it may be. His very stare will be as if he were looking after a vacuum. His eyebolts will not fly point-blank, but only whirl about giddily like the wheels of a fire-work machinery. Or, if he tries to set his gaze and be a presence to every body, the drowsy opiate of his eyes, thus fixed, will not unlikely shut the eyes of every body.

This remarkable, but not over-admired talent has another use; namely, that, while other talents are talents of supply, this is the talent of economic distribution. To forge out masses of truth heavy enough and wide enough in their range to sway whole audiences, and continue to do it, week by week, and year by year, requires a vast generative power such as few men possess. But with more particularity of aim, a much smaller expenditure will answer; even as a gimlet will do good service in worming its particular hole, or many thousand holes, when, if it should undertake to emulate the scope of the maëlstrom, it would hardly fill so large a figure. Now and then a man has capital enough for wholesale preaching, but

the particular manner of a retail delivery, both in preaching and trade, is far more apt to succeed, and the success to be more real and reliable. Hence also it is that a great many young men die out in their generalities and huge, overgrown subjects, and a great many others who appear to be meagre and want caliber, going to work in this hopeful way of economy, will even preach better possibly, and more effectively, than if they were more profusely endowed. They will at least be saved from the folly of trying to do something so great in the general as to do nothing at all in particular.

I name again as a talent of immense consequence in all kinds of address, and especially in preaching, what we may designate as having a soul, or as we sometimes say, a great soul. Now that one may have all the talents we have named, including the four, and yet have but a very small soul, or no soul at all, is understood, or ought to be, by every body. His motivities may be visibly selfish, his judgments may be weak, his impulse small, his action fussy and dry, his resentments petty, his jealousies contemptible, his prejudices shallow and pitiful, and the whole cast of his nature mean. His character, even though it be Christian as to principle, may be still uncomfortable to himself, and wearisome or disgustful to others. How can such a man, scholar and thinker though he be, perfectly artistic in style and delivery, carry any great effect in assemblies? How, above all, can he

fitly represent a gospel? On the other hand, a man who is not as high in these gifts of promise as he might be, but has a really great soul,—how often will his mere felt quantity and weight of being give him a considerable, or even a mighty, preaching power! We call him, for example, a manly person; and though there is just now an immensity of gas vented in the word, we are still not so totally sick of it as to be insensible to the very great dignity of manliness.

Paul, for example, had other high merits, but withal he had this in a most signal degree. Courage, for instance, is one of the grandest elements of magnanimity, and his courage was perfect; able to dare any thing, prudent enough to dare nothing foolishly. In the same way, his independence was at once complete, and centralized in order as equably as the solar system. His opinions were leveled by reason, clean above the reach of conceit. His serenity was clear as the sky. His half deific love put him above resentments. His deep fellow-nature put him in the lot of others, apart from all considerations of merit, or even of personal wrongs to himself. And he had withal a sense of self-respect so profound, that no indignity, stoning, whipping, mocking, spitting, chains, could humble, or bring down his manly consciousness, any more than if he had been the angel in the sun. Doubtless he was borne up into this transcendent dignity and supported in it, partly by the inspirations of God in his life, but every one can see that he had a naturally great soul. And the soulhood of his action corres

ponded. When we are most consciously in his power, we hardly know whether it is the spirituality or the manliness of his doctrine that most impresses us. I think it likely that among the Jewish scholars and thinkers of Germany there are some, in every generation, who are really superior to him as such, and yet there is a quantity of soul, or great manhood in him, that makes them all, from Spinoza downward, little more than trivialities in comparison.

Passing now to the class of talents that are most preëminently preaching talents and not specially required in the other kinds of speech, I name, first among the three, the talent of a great conscience or a firmly accentuated moral nature. A man may, plainly enough, be a great scholar, metaphysician, rhetorician, speaker in the artistic way, and yet have only a weak, scarcely pronounced conscience; and this, to many, will pass for nothing, because they are not accustomed to think of the conscience as being any talent at all. I think otherwise. It is even one of the grandest talents of human nature; that which gives it a reverberative quality, as by some tremendous gong of conviction quivering in its chambers. No great and high authority is possible in a movement on souls, without a great conscience. Principles analytically distinguished and reasoned by the understanding have a tame weak accent as respects authority, but when they are issued from the conscience, rung as peals by the conscience, they get an attribute of

thunder. Like thunder too, they are asserted by their own mere utterance and the unquestionable authority of their voice.

Now it is not denied that all men, taken as being simply men, have consciences; they would not be men without consciences. But there is a very great difference in the degrees of consciences and the kind of timber they are made of. Some consciences seem to be wholly insignificant and weak till they are tempest-strung, or get mounted somehow on the back of passion. Then there is no hydrophobia so incurably mad; and there is in fact no human creature so thoroughly wicked and diabolical, as he that is protesting in the heat of his will, or the fume of his grudges and resentments, how conscientious he is. Another kind of conscience appears to be felt mainly as an irritant. It pricks and nettles, but does not very much sway even the subject himself. It is sharp, pungent, thin, but never kingly; felt only as a sliver or a wasp in the hair. There is also a slimy, would-be tender, slow-moving conscience, that draws itself in viscous softness like a snail upon a limb, till, presto, the conscientious slime hardens into a shell, and what seemed an almost skinless sensibility becomes a horny casement of impracticability, obstinacy, or bigot stiffness. Now these and all such partial, crotchety, and misbegotten consciences are insufficient to make a powerful preacher. Their diameter is not big enough to carry any great projectile of conviction. No matter what, or how great, his promise on the score of

his other gifts and acquirements, he cannot be impressive because there is no ring of authority in his moral nature. He wants a lofty and large moral configuration, a conscience astronomically timed and steady in its wide orbit as are the stars in heaven's original order. Wanting in this he only sputters before conviction; his vehemence is only felt as annoyance, his brilliancy as the glitter of tinsel, and his great thinking as a merely puerile, nerveless intellectuality. He can hold a place at the bar, he can win golden opinions in the senate, and even attain high rank as an orator in all kinds of ornamental, political, and humanly social kinds of speaking; but without a grand reverberative moral nature, towering as a kind of Sinai thunder-capped in his soul, he can not be a successful preacher.

Again, there needs to be in every powerful preacher a large faith-talent. I do not say, you will observe, a large faith, but a large faith-talent; for if there is to be a large faith, there must also be a large faith-talent back of it, in which respect there is a very great difference among men. Some souls have naturally broad, high windows opening God-ward; and some have only little seams or chinks letting in just enough true light to make them religious beings, capable of salvation. Some like fires ascending seek the sun, and some are punky natures, in which the fire only smolders, making true heat, but scarcely becoming luminous. These latter will live, as dis-

ciples, in a different plane; prudentially wise, it may be logical; busied in questions of the understanding; but there is not simple seeing enough in them to make great preaching. A large, immediate, and free beholding is necessary to make a powerful preacher. A large deduction by the understanding will not do it. Some things he may intuit by the reason, and some by the moral sense; some things he may interpret and realize by his sympathies; some he may imagine; some he may climb into by his aspirations. But these are all mere functions of nature, included perhaps in the faith-talent, but still in themselves not faith. Not any one, nor all of them together, can reach the invisible, or put us in the sense of supernatural facts and worlds. Faith only, as a talent in nature for a supernatural beholding, bridges the gulf and takes us ever into the knowledge of what natural premises do not contain, and no mere investigation can reach. Faith has a way of proving premises themselves, namely, by seeing them; seeing the known centralized in the unknown, the visible in the invisible; substance or substantiator thus of things hoped for, evidence of things not seen. As I prove the bridge by trusting myself to it, so I prove all highest things in religion by my faith in them. I get perception thus of God. He dawns in my faith as the morning light in my eye.

So in virtue of the faith-talent, we have the possibility also of divine inspirations, and of all those exaltations,—visibly divine movements in the soul,—that endow and are needed to endow the preacher.

Other speakers do not want such inspirations in their common public spheres, but in the preacher they are even indispensable. And there is a very great difference in men in this respect, as in respect to faith. All men are spirit, permeable, that is, by the Spirit of God, and able, in virtue of that fact, to be born of the Spirit. But the being inspirable enough to barely be saved is not the kind of capacity necessary to make a great preacher of Christ. There may even be good, serviceable men in religion, having a serviceable heat not easily exhausted, who have yet no tinder-stock, or infusion of naphtha mixed with their clay, to throw them up ever into flame. They are anthracites all, going by faith principally in the sense that they trust the calculations of their understanding; wise in council, it may be, good for the composing of difficulties and the planning of solid adjustments, and having an immense value often as ballasting for the ship. But as ballast is good for nothing above water-line, and nobody can make sails of ballast, so these heavy natures cannot preach in avoirdupois, or do anything in a way of propulsion.

Neither is the case very much better where the temperament rushes one directly by faith into great vehemence and passion. This kind of nature is often less inspirable even than the other. The zeal of the flesh is too hot for the quiet zeal of faith. Nobody expects either steam or lightning to be inspired. Such cannot have a call of God, because they cannot stay for it. Speaking in the vehemence of steam, there will be no

accent of divinity in what they say; but they will be very much like those hideously sonorous throats of iron, that publish a call every morning in the suburbs of our cities, which is most perceptibly not divine.

Now there is nothing more evident than that one may have all the four canonical talents in great promise, and yet have almost no faith-talent with them, no inspiration, no capacity of any. Examples of the kind are even common. The nature they have is either a nature too impetuous, or too close, to let any divine movement have play in it. The preacher must be a very different kind of man; one who can be unified with God by his faith, and go into preaching not as a calling but a call; one who can do more than get up notions about God, and preach the notions; one who knows God as he knows his friend, and by closeness of insight gets a Christly meaning in his look, a divine quality in his voice, action visibly swayed by unknown impulse, imaginations that are apocalyptic, beauty of feeling not earthly, authority flavored by heavenly sanctity and sweetness, argument that breaks out in flame, asserting new premises and fertilizing old ones more by what is put into them than by what is deduced from them. Such a man can be God's prophet; that is to say, he can preach.

In this view it is important to add that many persons having this high talent will not, or may not, for a long time, know it. The inspiration must be developed before either they or others are apprised of the capability. Hence it is almost never included, when

we make up our account of this or that man's talent for the pulpit. For aught that appears, the candidate may be a Savonarola, a Bunyan, or a Whitefield, but we have no conception of the fact, and never can have, till the inspiration takes him, and his quality is revealed. Not even Luther was any so prodigiously gifted person till he broke into God's liberty, and by faith became his prophet. And then a great part of his sublimity lay in that awful robustness of nature that could be so tremendously kindled by God's inspirations, burning on, still on, in a grand volcanic conflagration of faculty, yet never consumed.

There is yet another talent to be set in our inventory, the reality and real supereminence of which I do not doubt, but which still I know not how to name or describe as exactly as I could wish. Man is a nature none the less profoundly mysterious to us because we are men ourselves, and this is the preëminently mysterious talent. It is what our language began, ages ago, to call a man's *air*, and which now, since that figure has been spoiled by resolving the felt impression of airs into mere external manner and carriage, we are trying to call a man's *atmosphere*, regarding it as the mysterious efflux, exhalation, aërial development of his personality.

We appear to have some reference in the word to the fact that natural substances or bodies throw off emanations that represent their quality, and create a circumambiency, or sphere of aroma about them.

Not all bodies do it; rocks, ice-cakes, autumnal flowers, have no such talent of aroma. Some bodies, again, make a bad atmosphere, and some a good, the former class affecting us disgustfully, the latter attractively. These latter, too, will be in all degrees of power and diffusive capacity. The violets will breath their aroma modestly and make a tiny atmosphere. The mignonnette and the sandal-wood will throw themselves out farther and fill a wider circle. The orange-tree, or the forest of bay, will spread its welcome sphere far out at sea, flavoring whole leagues by its breath. We must not omit also to observe that these atmospheres of objects, whether good or bad, have an almost absolute power. It is not for us to choose whether we will be affected by them or not; for they have us at a great advantage, and will do the disgusting or the attractive upon us very much at their will.

It is remarkable how far this analogy holds respecting men. A certain class, otherwise highly gifted and qualified by the finest accomplishments, make no atmosphere any more than a stone or an egg. You have their totality in what your eye or ear takes in, and they never make you think of any mysterious, unknown quality that inspheres them and flavors them to your feeling. What success these autumn-born souls will have in preaching it is not difficult to see; and here it is that we get our solution of those thousand and one cases of failure, where there seemed beforehand to be so much of merit and of genuine promise. No matter what amount of merit one may

have, whether in himself or in his sermon, if he does not make an atmosphere he is nothing.

Much worse and more hopeless is the candidacy that makes only a bad or disagreeable atmosphere. Thus you will sometimes enter a room, where you encounter a stranger, and the moment your eyes fall upon him a kind of revulsion seizes you. You cannot tell why; he is not badly dressed, does not appear to be vicious, has no particular features that are bad enough to be remarkable; yet he fills you somehow with uneasiness and an inexpressible dread. Sometimes there will be a forward man in a church, who, without doing anything specially bad, and even contributing much to its advancement, will yet finally quite kill it by his oppressive, suffocating atmosphere. Imagine now some person such as these, or only less disagreeable, appearing before an audience to assume the preaching office. His studies are completed, not without honor, and his Christian repute is clear of scandal. He fails utterly, and many cannot account for it. It was as if he had run upon some prejudice; and it was true, because he raised a prejudice at once against himself. Somehow there is a revulsion, but nobody charges the revulsion to any particular offense in his look or manner. Probably nothing more definite was thought than that he was somehow disagreeable. For,—alas that we must say it! some very pious people are yet very disagreeable. It is not because their piety does not do what it can to create a favorable atmosphere of impression for them, but

that it is not strong enough as yet to master the repulsive, pitifully bad atmosphere of their natural character.

Again, there are some of the good atmospheres, or such as are not bad, which are disqualifications in the preacher. One carries about with him, for example, the inevitable literary atmosphere, and a shower-bath on his audience could not more effectually kill the sermon. Another preaches out of a scientific atmosphere, which is scarcely better; another out of a philosophic, which is even worse; for no human soul is going either to be pierced for sin, or to repent of it, scientifically; and as little is any one going to believe, or hope, or walk with God, or be a little child, philosophically. No man ever becomes a really great preacher who has not the talent of a right and genuinely Christian atmosphere.

Now what we mean, as in strict scientific conception, by this matter of an atmosphere, I will not overpositively say. If we call it the moral aroma of character, or if we call it the magnetic sphere of the person, we only change the figure, but do not resolve the fact. Perhaps we make a little advance if we ascribe the fact to the expression of the person; that is, to the voice, color, feature, manner, and general soul-play represented in them; still we can never tell precisely what and where the expression is. If it is imagined or objected that what we are calling an atmosphere is in fact only the same thing over again that we have called an inspiration, that can at most

be true only in part; for we feel it consciously as being something which is natural endowment in the person, and belongs, at least in part, to the spiritual *proprium* of his personal habit and quality.

After all, we only seem to know that the person having a good or bad atmosphere plays himself, somehow, or by some subtle talent, into others, by and through their imagination; whereupon they conceive him with a halo, an air, an atmosphere about him. He raises great imaginations in souls, and by these, blazing as a flame-element in them,—not in him, but in themselves,—they are made to see in him a flame, a glory, a kind of circumambient quality, more diffusive than his person; so he inspheres, and so indominates. No great power is ever felt in mankind which does not take them by their imagination; and this, at bottom, is what we mean by a man's atmosphere. Hence the fact that no great commander is extemporized or provided ready-made. He must have time to work imaginations into play and make his atmosphere. By his victories he must spread the horizon of his life and authority, till he takes in senates and states and legions trailing on to the fight, and becomes a one-man circumambiency, vast enough to fill, if I may so speak, the solar spaces above and wide geographic spaces below, as between the Mississippi and the sea, dominating as by spell in the thousands of commanders, setting fast the courage, steadying the wheel, lifting the tramp of their columns, pouring them down into rivers and over into fortresses,

and on through vast regions of swamp and forest, harnessed all to him, a thousand miles away, and campaigning for him in the punctual order of the sun. In this manner, having gotten hold of imaginations enough, and become an atmosphere of dominating sway vast enough, behold the great general is born! So grand a thing, in the scale of it, is the gestation process by which an atmosphere is sometimes created.

All great preachers get their power, in the long run, by a similar process. The gift is partly natural, as being a great soul gift, and for the rest, is a great soul development in and through and upon the imaginative sense of other souls. In that manner the greatest, highest, most necessary of all preaching endowments,—who of us shall have it? Ah! this question of preaching: it is nothing, I may almost say, but the question of an atmosphere. Academic attainments, standing, talents, are valuable, but the possibility of a grand high atmosphere signifies more.

Enter the great assembly, for example, where young Summerfield is giving his call and testimony, and there is a power upon you which it is the highest luxury and dearest blessing of the earth to feel. You know not where it is, but clearly it is not in the words spoken. There is a something about the man which fills you with a sense of mystery. There is incense here and the smell of sacrifice. The man is nothing, and his atmosphere every thing. It fills the whole concavity, from the rafters downward to the floor; nay, it presses the walls and issues from the doors.

To be there, insphered in the sacred aroma of that pure soul, is a kind of converting ordinance, apart from all power of words.

The example of Dr. Channing is different, but singularly impressive. We look in vain for any highest force in his sermons. To be frank, they do not seem to really preach at all, as being God's calls to faith and salvation by the cross of his Son. They are ethically conceived, and not evangelically. If we talk of argument, they are honest and faithful, but not specially robust. Where then was the power? For there certainly was a most grandly impressive power in his pulpit efforts. It consisted, I conceive, to a very great extent, in his personal atmosphere. No one could argue with him, because every one was obliged to feel him. The subdued manner, the keen-edged, quivering delicacy of his moral perceptions, the unqualified honesty of the man, sanctified by his profoundly tender, always delicate reverence toward God, made the atmosphere of the place sensational, and no one was permitted to choose whether he would be impressed or not.

And what shall we imagine concerning the personal atmosphere of that wonderful being who spake as never man spake? It was not his look, nor his declamation, nor his fine periods; it was not even his prodigious weight of matter; but it was the sacred exhalation of his quality, the aroma, the auroral glory of his person: this it was that quelled the marshal and his posse, and sent them back to make return, not

that he could not be found, but that he was too great and awe-inspiring to allow the touch of their hands! And here, let us dare to say it, were, in a certain highest view, the significance and glory of his life. He took the human person to exhale an atmosphere of God that should fill, and finally renew, the creation, bathing all climes and times and ages with its dateless, ineradicable power; so that, having made even the world sensational from that time forth, he could say, with a confidence how beautifully modest and true: "I have glorified thee on the earth."

Now, this particular talent, above all others, we must note, is the special condition of pulpit excellence. Much will often be accomplished in the sen ate by a speaker whose personal atmosphere is forbidding or repulsive. One of the most powerful advocates we have ever had at the bar was a man whose air was brutal enough and low enough in depravity, I may almost say, to raise a smell of disgust. The poet Young has conquered somehow a position of eminence, in spite of the really disagreeable atmosphere of his mock sententious declamations. Byron had two atmospheres,—a naturally noble and high, and a morally low and repulsive. The same was partly true of Burns. And they both obtain, it may be, even the greater power that they carry an atmosphere so interestingly bad. The talent, in short, of a good, great atmosphere, is nowhere else a necessity so nearly absolute as in preaching. Only here it needs to be observed, lest one fall into mistake, that

sometimes a man will be found to have really the finer and more potent atmosphere, just because at first he seems to have none at all; that is, because he is so crisp and clear as not, for the time, to put us thinking of any thing but his crystal voice and his very naked words. The prophets, for example, were the old time preachers, and Isaiah had the atmosphere of June; and Jeremiah the tearful, tender, glittering softness of April. Then comes Ezekiel; and we think he is mere January. He thumps and crepitates in his hard, metallic periods, and saying nothing of his exhalations, he appears to be rather frosted about, even as the auroral giants of the North, galloping across their hyperborean icebergs, appear to shimmer and quiver in their frozen element of sky; and yet, as the metallic ring of his strange, bare style continues, we begin to feel that he is bolting in a state of bare conviction, more rigidly firm, more consciously indivertible, because it is the clear January cold of God's truth. These clear, cold-feeling, bracing atmospheres are many times even more effective, as regards certain impressions, than any other which may seem to be more nearly aromatic.

There is yet one other talent which I may not hesitate to call a preaching talent, though it does not relate immediately to success in preaching, but only indirectly. When we speak of a talent for preaching, and of talented preachers, we must not stop at the mere matter of speaking, or of what is spoken, but we must also think of an ability to get on, carry on, win

a confidence by success in a cause. Our preacher, therefore, is not a mere public speaker,—far from that as possible,—but he is to have a capacity of being and doing; an administrative, organizing capacity; a power to contrive and lead, and put the saints in work, and keep the work aglow, and so to roll up a cause by ingatherings and careful incrementations. The success and power of the preacher, considering his fixed settlement in a place, will not seldom depend even more on a great administrative capacity than it will on his preaching. And with good reason, for it really takes more high manhood, more wisdom, firmness, character, and right-seeing ability, to administer well in the cause, than it does to preach well. No matter what seeming talent there may be in the preaching, if there is no administrative, then the man is a boy, and the boy will have a boy's weight,—nothing more. On the other hand, being a true man, able to be felt by his manly direction, his mediocrity in the sermon will be made up by respect for his always right-seeing activity. In this office then of preaching, one of the very highest talents demanded is an administrative talent. Every preacher wants it even more than he would in the governing of a state; and yet how many of our young preachers rush out on the beginning of their work, as if holding the preaching stand on Sundays were to be the test of every thing. This very dull matter of administration,—let those who will descend to it,—is not for them. And the result will be, in nine cases out of ten, that nothing is for them, but

a mortifying disappointment and a terrible correction of their greenness. Now it happens that a good many young men, who have other talents in but a moderate degree, could greatly excel in the organizing, administrative department, and could so even up the scale of faculty as to command great power and influence. An advantage so great they cannot afford to lose. On the other hand, let any one most gifted turn himself away from the work of a bishop at this point, and he will assuredly make anything but a successor of the apostles. Even Paul himself would have to drop off all the honors of his epistles, and would only be that mere "babbler," which the Athenians, or that god "Mercury," which the stupid Lycaonians took him to be.

There is then, as I now at last conclude, a much greater number of talents concerned in the matter of preaching than some of us are wont to suppose. The canonical forms are not all. The inventory is a large one, and might even be much farther extended. But my practical object is gained, if I have only been able to raise some fit impression of the very great diversities of gifts that are related, in as many colors and degrees, to the equipment of a successful preacher. It does not follow that being short in this or that will be fatal, or that being first in many things greatly esteemed is any sure pledge of success. All that we can say is, that the general cast of the man must contain possibilities enough to make up the needed endow-

ment. Some very good candidates will be rated low for a time in the scale of promise; and some will be rated high, because of certain attainments and tokens, who will finally be discovered to have only the meagerest, poorest kind of nature, such as almost wants a soul. Meantime the poor distracted people are fooling themselves in continual misjudgments, and wondering why they are so unfortunate. Their diamond, after all, is only a big stone. They rushed to the post-office, sending out their paper missives all over the land, asking for the diamonds, but they drew the picture so big that they could only be great bowlders, and they are surprised to find that the particular bowlder they got is no diamond at all! They did not remember that these finest of the gems are the most modest in size, and likeliest to be found, when they are simple enough to only look after a broom for the sweeping of their houses. If then our immense overtalk about pulpit talent, or preaching talent, is still to go on, let us at least contrive to include something more adequate in it than we seen to have been doing heretofore. We have too many young men of real capacity in points one side of our common canonical tests, that we cannot afford to crush, or to have crushed in this way; and the look of nonsense we inflict on religion itself, by the feeble impertinence of our pulpit ambitions and standards of prognostication, can still less be afforded.

Let me add, as I close, a few words of friendly

advice to the classes most concerned in the illustrations I have presented. It may be that some of you, who are already entered on the preaching office, begin to suffer many very gloomy misgivings and hard rebuffs of discouragement.

You went forth, months or years ago, it may be, in the conceit of your superlative standing, and hung your flaunting colors out as challenges of your expected victory, and now you begin to feel that your talent, after all, is somehow fatally deficient. It may be, or it may not. Be not hasty in accepting the conclusion. Possibly the mere conceit you suffered has blocked your talents hitherto, and when it is cured, so that you can take your place in true humility, they will come out in a power that even astonishes yourself. Conceit is the bane of faith, and where there is no faith the possibility of power is barred.

Some of you, again, are just now standing at the gate and waiting to go forth. Your studies are concluded, but not with much token of success. Hitherto you have not discovered the talents that appear to be indispensable. Your friends do not flatter you, and you see not how to flatter yourself. Your heart sinks in discouragement. Do not think so meanly of yourself that you cannot be yourself. There may be something in you that neither you nor your friends have discovered; something that must come out slowly, in a way of holy conflict, and yet will come. Remember also, as a law of the talents, that any one of them waked into power wakes the talent next to it,

and that in like manner another, till finally the whole circle wakes into power, and it thunders all round the sky. When the conscience that was only half awake is fully roused by the Spirit of God, as, when the time arrives, it may be, then the faith-talent leaps out, as it were new-born, to seize on the knowledge of God and climb into the fullness of his peace. Then comes inspiration ; with that, courage. Now the imagination is aglow, and hidden forces before unknown burst into power. So it was with Luther, so with Chalmers, and so proportionally it may be with natures of a humbler mold. No man knows what endowments he may have unfolded when the fit crisis arrives. Let us then heroically hope and patiently wait. Perhaps we shall some time find that we have more and better talents than we thought.

Besides, there is another and holier ground of encouragement for us all. Christ, our master, he that gives us our message and our call, was himself a complete man, having all the talents we have named, and all others beside, that belong to the ideally perfect human mind. What we therefore want is not to go hunting our poor nature through, that we may find what is slumbering in us waiting to be somehow waked. But the grand first thing, or chief concern for us is, to be simply Christed all through, filled in every faculty and member with his Christly manifestation,—in that manner to be so interwoven with him as to cross fibre and feel throughout the quickening contact of his personality ; and then every thing in us,

no matter what, will be made the most of, because the corresponding Christly talent will be playing divinely with it, and charging it with power from himself. Not that, even thus, every one is called to be a great preacher, or indeed any preacher at all, but the fact that one finds himself able to be thus opened to Christ, and gloriously empowered by union with him, very nearly amounts to a call, as it does to the needful endowment. Be it invalid, or woman, or old man, or boy, he must and will be somehow vehicle and tongue and gospel for his Master.

VII.

TRAINING FOR THE PULPIT MANWARD.*

Regret is frequently expressed and sometimes wonder, that so many preachers, qualified apparently by much talent and culture, fail so miserably in getting any vital connection with men, or their people. And we make short work of the mystery often, by saying that they have not nature enough in them to get hold of nature in others; though a better and more true solution would be, that they fail of any vital connection or power to gain it, because they have no such Christian nearness to men or vitalized interest in them, as begets a vitally responsive interest. Nobody imagines that men will be morally quickened by words spoken through a fire-trumpet; neither will they any more, by the words of a man who is equally brassy and not more humanly alive. But where there is a soul vitalized in feeling, where the look, the action, the man, bespeaks a living and true interest in the persons addressed, they must be somehow less than human not to be quickened responsively. When the

*Delivered at the Anniversary of the Theological School of Chicago, in 1868.

true live magnet is thrust into a bag of iron-sand, it will come out with innumerable adherents festooning round its neck, and clinging fast to it, because it is clinging fast to them. But the dead magnet clinging to nobody will have nobody clinging to it.

The failures we lament then must be referrible to some lack in the preachers of nearness to, or humanized perception of men. The manward faculty is somehow undeveloped, or too scantily developed, to bring them into their place among men and prepare them to act their part effectively. And this very practical matter it is that I propose to consider on the present occasion; stating briefly first, the causes of the fact; and then, more carefully, by what kind of training and self-exercise the necessary interest in men may be duly unfolded and quickened.

As regards the causes of the fact in question, it needs to be somewhere noted, that the unworldly position of the preacher, qualified by no specially counteractive grace, will itself, and often does, separate him so far from his fellow-men as to make him a man quite one side of life. Hence the abundant satire put upon the clergy so called, as being ignorant of men, living a dry kind of life, out of contact with the world, and practically unqualified for any manly part in the going on of human affairs. The lawyer conforms to the world and is of it, and the preacher, not allowed to be, loses just so much of interest in it, or capacity to be a part of it; unless, coming down upon it in the living charities of heaven, he takes hold thus again of

all he has let go, to be wiser and more alive in it than ever; more respected in his judgments and every way more vitally felt as a man. There is a most real danger here, but the remedy it is not difficult to find.

But the inability we speak of is due, in a different way, to a large variety of causes, among which I name, first of all, a deficiency in the natural gifts of address. Some persons have a wondrous felicity in this respect. They have large true sympathies. They fall in always, somehow, at the dew-point of favor, and set every sensibility a-dripping with the wet of their moist kinship and life. They are beautifully considerate, therefore considered. They confide and are confided in. They are friendly and make friends. Such persons have a great natural advantage in this kind of gift, though, as we shall see by and by, it is no sufficient guarantee of a permanently vital and effective hold by itself. Others, who have greatly inferior natural gifts in this respect, have yet such as are capable of great enlargement by culture, and such as, being duly unfolded by the necessary Christian inspirations, will even put them in advance of the class just named. They will have a supernatural felicity, all the more perfect that it is felt to be not entirely natural. And all that I am going to say, on this occasion, will have its value principally in the encouragement given to such. For there are one or two classes of natures more unfellow still, that will never be much advanced by anything. One, for example, who are too apathetic and dry to be ever much quick-

ened in the demonstrative sympathies that are needed to engage responsive sympathies, who will continue therefore to be socially inert as now, and be answered by social inertness; even as the corn that is piled away in the cribs to dry makes heaps of creature life in ear and kernel, that are quite dead to the sense of neighborhood, or the touch of any fellow sensibility. There is still another class, who are often taken by their friends to have a special promise, but are even more unhopeful, as regards being ever trained to a genuine, solid interest in men, or a living place among them,—such I mean as, by their light vivacity, are gadding about everywhere, and pitching into everything on foot; a kind of omnipresent, *fac totum* people, that cannot be escaped. Their chaff is always blowing in our faces, when we had much rather have a chance to see. Such will hardly get to be even men of the world, but will rather buzz themselves out of it, than into it, by the annoyances they create.

A second cause of inability in the preacher to gain a living contact with men, or his people, is to be found in a bad moral development, such as makes him at once less capable of a living interest in them, and them less capable of interest in him. Thus if one is seen to be acting the sycophant, if another is jealous, scenting always visibly some disrespect or higher claim of merit, if another is of a plainly sensual habit, another pretentious or vain of his performances, and, to make short a catalogue that is long, if any one is unreliable, irresponsible, irritable in his tempers,

obstinate in his will, or what is worst of all, practically untrue, there will almost certainly be no genuine heartiness in his devotion to them, and all their gates will even be more certainly shut against him. For if his particular obliquities are not formally known, or discovered, the stamp of a something sinister, untrustworthy, and low, will be felt upon him, and he will be too scantily respected to have any considerable power.

But we have, again, three or four hindrances or disqualifications, that come along, hand in hand, with our ministerial training itself; being false or disproportionate modes of interest in other directions, that take us quite away from all true interest in men. Thus, brought together as they are in our seminaries, young men talk much, almost unavoidably, of relative standing, and the places to be gotten by each; whereby the ambition for place gets large development. Then afterwards, when our places are taken, the same thing still goes on, as we see by our frequent discoveries that we have fallen into what we call "uncongenial places." And then, as we must have our changes, it comes out every week in gazette, that one or another preacher, beginning to be known, is going to this or that more prominent, that is, more congenial, place. The people meantime, seeing how much it signifies to be place, get tired of being place to second rate preachers, and take their turn also in pitching us down descending grades that mortify us, and make us more discouraged, and push us farther away in feeling from men, as we are less appreciated by them. Or, if our

changes are all in the ascending order, we are likely to be only so much better pleased with ourselves, and to finally die in our position of prominence, only half as much felt and respected as if we had died in the first little nest that was given us. How many die beside of too much place, before their time arrives,—not to go, let us hope, to their own place afterwards.

Another infelicity of our training is, that it often begets a very disproportionate interest in the direction of abstractive theology. The result is that we are taken quite away from men, and become practically unsphered, or disabled. Our over-abstractive exercise has extirpated our most valuable sensibilities. We had a skin, and now we have a crust. I speak here with the greater freedom, because I believe there is less of undue theologic tension in your school than elsewhere, and because your very scheme of terms and studies proposes, if possible, to keep you in the living world and make you a part of it. Still there is danger for us all, that we get stalled in abstractions, and dry up in them. Our gospel, if we put ourselves to thinking out a gospel, will of course be a little too completely ours, small of course, and dry, and pebbly, representing well the tiny molds of our own abstractive faculty. And when we go to preach it, we shall be looked upon rather as abstract men than men alive,—theologic lay figures, sombre, introverted, dreary-looking faces, beholding always, sticking for and as it were becoming the inevitable propositions. There will be a kind of nonsense look both

in what we are and what we are doing, and the dry formalities we range in will be like the corridors so nicely flanked by the exactly piled bones of the ten thousand virgins in the crypts of Cologne. I make no objection here to theology. Abstractions will do us no damage, if we do not make gods and finalities of them. Our Christian mind must have them, it would seem, for its gymnastic. Neither could we understand ourselves, without some articulation of our thoughts. The difficulty is that we so easily lose the sense of persons, or souls, and get our whole appetite set for propositions, needing every hour to pray both God and our teachers: "feed me with food convenient for me." If only we had each five hundred theologies, just to show us what the true great gospel is by so many little ones made out of it, our ardor might be sufficiently checked to allow us some right interest in the welfare of men.

We are likely also, in a similar way, to have a wholly disproportionate interest awakened in subjects, as distinguished from men, or persons. As our culture is advanced, and our invention sharpened, we find a pleasure and sometimes take a pride, in raising great subjects, fine subjects, new subjects. It is almost as good as if we made a gospel ourselves. Our success too attracts a certain admiration. But the gospel is not for subjects, save as the subjects are for people, or souls. There are a great many grand, beautiful, fresh subjects in it,—not one too many,—and it is our privilege to catch the hint of all pro-

foundest things from the subtlest intimations. God's own Spirit too will show us tenderly in, where the mines of truth are richest and least explored, that we may bring out ores and gems and all best gifts for his flock. But if we care to please ourselves in the skill or beauty of our processes, if we have any interest in our subjects that does not respect their uses,—what feeling they will kindle, what conviction raise, what comfort of God they will bring, what they will be, when they have fallen off the tongue into the ear, and are lodged there in the inward silence,—what are we doing in our fine subjects that belongs any way to our work in the hearts of our people? And if we complain that by such astounding merits they will not be taken captive, is it they that are senseless, or we? As if by so great skill in raising subjects, we were going to compensate them for making nothing of their persons, or even of their personal eternity!

Again our training often makes us disproportionally alive to the matter of pulpit success, when we have only the tamest concern for men. We are trained, in fact, to look after and greatly value success. And then, when we take our places, we are ready to compliment our devotion in the felt intensity of our desire to make such advances in our work. But there is a distinction here that we are exceedingly apt to miss, because of the subtlety of it; we are running a mill, otherwise called a church, which is ours, and we very earnestly desire success, it may be, not for the souls' sake of the people, but for the mill's sake. We put

ourselves into the cause with great industry of endeavor. We work our sermons in the hardest way, and preach them in a way as hard,—not a whit harder to us than to the people,—straining every faculty to the utmost, and straining also them by our heavy objurgations. What does it mean, we say, that, when we are putting our lives into the grave, we get no sympathy and nobody comes to our help? Never was there any Christian people, we think, so utterly dead and destitute of care for their Master. It is as if we were knocking at a tomb! But verily there is no wonder here; we get no response, because there is nothing to respond to. We are laying ourselves out for the post, and not for the people, and it cannot be expected that a post will respond. Our manner besides tells the whole story. The fact is out by the laws of expression, when neither we nor our people think it. If we were after the men, if our spirit yearned for the men, our eye, and voice, and tenderly deep look of concernment, would be out, gathering in all feeling responsive to our feeling, but since we yearn only for the mill, there is no particular reason why the men should be moved by it. I very much fear that what we call our desire for the salvation of our people, that which wears our life out so unsparingly, is really a desire in a great many more cases than we know to have success for ourselves. This *ignis fatuus* hovers all the while about us, shallows our feeling and beguiles our prayers.

We come now to the second general department of our subject, where it is proposed to show, or at least to suggest, the methods by which we may be trained and may train ourselves to a more personal, or less impersonal kind of interest.

And first of all, it must be noted, that any due interest in men supposes a living observation of men. Just here it is that a great many, falling into an utterly heedless habit, sink all apparent capacity of sympathy with mankind. We can do something to break up such a habit, and something also may possibly be done for us. Let it be understood that we have a wonderfully fruitful out-door lesson here, that is always demanding our study. God has given us eyes, and we have no right to lose the benefit of eyes. And yet there are thousands of men who are really halved in capacity all their life long, because they omit to see. Their human feeling gets no play; they miss the possibility of living sympathies; they get too far stupefied under the world to allow their ever knowing what it is, or becoming a part of it. What can such minds do in preaching a gospel? No, the preacher wants to be a man, as truly as to be a Christian, and he will not be much of a Christian if he is not a man. He must be out therefore, using sharp insight everywhere, and looking deep down through all the sinuosities and cunning varieties of the great world-pageant before him. He must see the men, the women, the children, the neighborhood, the nation, the times, dramatizing themselves in what is called society. And

it must be no mere beholding of surfaces, as when some animal looks on the same things; but there must be a looking far in, where the eternities are. Great instincts must be seen overtopping the summits of pride, and squatting among the lowest vices. The grandeur of the being must be seen in the meanness of the life. The honors that are due to principle must be seen wriggling out under motivities that only play reverence and character. Everything must be significant; the house, the church, the school, the street, the shop; works, voices, gaits; and, what is quite as full of revelation, the concealments,—all to be construed in no cynical way, but so lovingly that the bright, sweet virtues will awaken no interest more tender than the virtues that are sick or fallen. The observer has a long inventory given him, and he must play all his many-colored human sympathies into it to bring out the interpretation. Nobody can tell or guess what he will see, or meet, or be overtaken by, going into the street any most common day of the year. He cannot pass round a block, without meeting some revelation that is a complete chapter of life. And this open-eyed way of living would have a wonderfully sharpening, freshening power in every one who is being trained for the gospel, if only it were faithfully maintained; all the better if he would formally engage, when he returns at night, to catechize himself as to what he has seen and the meaning of it; better still if friends would engage to catechize each other; and it would not be absurd, if professors

would sometimes drop the book-lore subjects and spring the question, "What have you seen to-day?" And the answers gotten, I strongly suspect, would give a more true indication of the men, than any of the class-work answers they obtain. One must answer, that he remembers seeing nothing but his own face in the glass. Another will want prompting to be sure that he has seen anything. Another will have seen upon the street some thousands, probably, of faces, no two of them alike, and having all as many thousand characters and histories written upon them; quite a number of which, as he began to read them in passing, had excited a wonderfully curious and deep interest. A fourth, less discursive, but not less sharply perceptive, will perhaps only report having seen a horseshoe nailed up over a door; whereby he was let into a new impression of superstition, as the underground fact, or token, of man's religious nature; and if he should go on, for answer, to bring out the subterranean working of the same, it must be a very good lecture that will signify more. Let this living out-door observation be kept up, and never intermitted. No man ever is alive to his kind, who does not see them with a living eye.

I suggest again, as a matter closely related, the very large, really sublime interest we should get in persons, or souls, in distinction from subjects, by putting the mind down carefully on the study, or due exploration of sin. I do not mean by this any theologic exploration, such as we have reported in our systems, no

questioning about the origin, or propagation, or totality, or disability, or immedicable guilt of sin, but a going into and through it as it is, and the strange wild work it makes in the intestine struggles and wars of the mind. For it is a fact, I fear, that we sometimes very nearly kill our natural interest in persons, by just bolting them down theologically into what we call death and there making an end. We clap an extinguisher on them, in this manner, and they drop out of interest, just where they become most interesting,— where meaning, and size, and force, and depth of sorrow, and amount of life, and everything fit to engage our concern is most impressively revealed. Say no more of the dignity of human nature, here is something far beyond all that; a wild, strange flame raging inwardly in that nature, that, for combinations of great feeling, and war, and woe, is surpassed by no tragedy or epic, nor by all tragedies and epics together. Here in the soul's secret chambers are Fausts more subtle than Faust, Hamlets more mysterious than Hamlet, Lears more distracted and desolate than Lear; wills that do what they allow not, and what they would not, do; wars in the members; bodies of death to be carried, as in Paul; wild horses of the mind, governed by no rein, as in Plato; subtleties of cunning, plausibilities of seeming virtues, memories writ in letters of fire, great thoughts heaving under the brimstone marl of revenges, pains of wrong and of sympathy with suffering wrong, aspirations that have lost courage, hates, loves, beautiful dreams, and tears; all

these acting at cross-purposes and representing, as it were to sight, the broken order of the mind. Getting into the secret working, and seeing how the drama goes on in so many mystic parts, the wondrous life-scene,—shall we call it poetry?—takes on a look at once brilliant and pitiful and appalling, and what we call the person becomes a world of boundless capacities shaken out of their law, energies in full conflict and without government, passions that are wild, sorrows that are weak. By such explorations, never to be exhausted by discovery, our sense of person, or mind, or soul, is widely opened and may always be kept fresh; a most necessary qualification for any right seeking of men, such as may obtain a living connection with them in the matter of their immortal welfare. It will not, so, be subjects only that engage us, but persons; for persons will have the freshest meaning, and be thought of as the deepest and most fascinating kind of study. Let me venture a suggestion here that reaches farther; viz., that if some qualified teacher, by some ten or twenty years of study, could worm out a thoroughly perceptive interpretation of sin, or course of lectures on the working or pathology of mind under evil, he would offer a contribution to the true success of Christian preaching, greater than, perhaps, any human teacher has ever yet contributed.

Another very important thing, as regards training ourselves to a large and vital interest in our fellow-men, is the being earnestly and early engaged in efforts to do

them good. For it is a fixed law of the mind that we feel what we serve, and appreciate, even up to the point of enthusiasm, what we long and strenuously endeavor to accomplish. By such practical tension, all our powers are harnessed and put to the draught together. And it is a matter of immense consequence, in this view, that every one who is preparing for the Christian ministry should put himself into a Christian way of training for it, by having on hand works of love and mercy to man such as will draw him into the closest terms of fidelity, and kindle in his feeling the highest enthusiasm. Mere scholarhood is no fit training without this. Taken separately from this, it is really a training away from qualifications and not towards them. Let him go into by-places and dark neighborhoods, seeking out Christ's poor and sick; drawing others out of the wrecks of fortune and the more appalling wrecks of vice, by his Christian sympathy; teaching the ignorant, and especially bending himself upon the neglected little ones of the street; knowing well that every child's love wakened in his bosom freshens him in the deepest springs of his life, and keeps him young in the simple humanities that draw him closest to his fellow-men. All this we say, but we do not often take the force of it; still the works we put ourselves upon are too often only a matter by the way. The great chief matter is the school and what the school will do for us. No, no! The true preacher needs even more to be graduated at the great university of sorrow than here. Mercies are greater

things than notions, and here is the place to learn the mercies. These are the talent of the heart and the talent of the head is not greater. And how many of our really best, most pungent, most effective preachers, have been almost wholly trained by their good works, and the human wants and woes that engage them! By these they purchase also to themselves a good degree; much better than some of the degrees we more frequently hear of and less frequently respect. Little children, sorrows of the house, bitter sorrows of the street and the saloon,—these are their professors and they do their teaching well. Only be it understood that every thing you undertake in this schooling of work must be heartily done, and never in a way of slackness that is glad when the time is up and the duty ended; for in that way all benefit will be reversed and you will lose even twice as much as it was your privilege to gain. One single hour in a week, given to a Sunday-school in this slack way of merely formal duty, will uncreate more capacity for living approach to men, than six whole days of seminary training ever created.

Thus far we have been moving, for the most part, in the plane of mere self-exercise. We must now ascend to the higher plane of God and the Spirit. It may seem paradoxical, but it is profoundly true, that if we are to get the highest possible, only true interest in our fellow men, we must go up into God to find it. They are made in his great image, which signifies much to him, though commonly not much to us. We try

to use the fact sometimes as a theological magnifier of man, but God feels it. And what is peculiar to him, our bad state under evil does not abate his interest in us, but rather seems to increase it. He beholds the great machine of retributive causation, good in itself, necessary even for us, crushing us, as phosphorated bones are crushed in the mill, and he does not allow that his Fatherhood is measured, or was ever to be, by this grinding machine of causes that we call Nature. If Nature and her causes own him God, there is in him what is more than a mere Godship of nature, a Lamb-side of holy flexibility, where he suffers and sorrows, and where, as Lamb, "he was slain from the foundation of the world;" always engaged, before these fallen children were made, to unlock the creation's causes by suffering, and take them forth out of their sin. All which is discovered to us, how sublimely, in that closing stage of revelation, where the throne of the Universe is called no more henceforth the throne of God, as if he were the God of Nature, but the throne of God and of the Lamb!" Deific sorrow or affliction then is here to be the power. "In their affliction he is afflicted, and he bears them and carries them all the days of old." He brings out leaders and prophets rising up early to send them, organizes rites, draws out migrations, leads back captivities, and, when the fullness of time is come, sends forth his Son,—all which is opened to us in its inmost meaning, when it is declared: "For God so loved the world."

Now therefore we are to see in him, that is in Jesus, what kind of interest pertains to the lot and state of man, taken as a fallen personality. Wonderful depth of feeling and sacrifice,—how shall we compass it?—in the charities of his burdened life, his sorrow and cross! He so conceives the magnitude and tragic pain of souls or persons, that he sinks all orders and distinctions of men in one level of suffering pity. And he is specially drawn to abject and low people, because, understanding him quite as well, they are much less withdrawn by hateful and low prejudices. His great loving mind stoops to its burdens, and he bears the world as we bear the weight of a sorrow. The woman at the well is sure that there must be some great riddle in him. Little children are gathered to him and cannot look away from him. That he gets the blind man's heart, when he leads him out, hand in hand, to heal him, nobody need tell us. As little need we be told, that he gets hold of another's when, having healed him, he goes tenderly after him, cast out for being healed,—even as some teacher of a Sunday-school goes after the poor, much persecuted pupil, he has lately missed,—and leading him back, opens to him some of the deepest matters even of his great Messiahship. Why should not the penitent woman, put in hope and courage by his friendly words, wash his feet with her tears? And would it not be strange, if the two sisters of Bethany were at all less nearly distracted by their tender hospitalities, after he has wept the tears of Messiahship with them at their

brother's grave? Notice further the significance of his look, that so much impressed the evangelist, when, surrounded by such forlorn multitudes of sick and diseased people, his feeling is described by saying, that "he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted and were scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd." Humble in his figure, scandalously unconventional, he is yet respected and felt everywhere. He touches the quick, so to speak, of all human sentiment and conviction and makes a contact so pervasive that all incrustations of sin are pierced. Without a single air of popularity, or any bait thrown out to catch applause, he settles straightway into vital connection with men, because of the divine sorrow that is in him; and, though multitudes of high people are offended in him, he is the best approved, most thoroughly felt man that ever lived.

Then follow the apostles, and especially Paul, the most conspicuous of them. And here we are to see how he takes the type of his Master, bearing the same burden, and having in it the same call. There was nothing of dear favor and popularity in him naturally. He was just now but a fierce and fiery bigot and man-hunter, wanting men's blood more than their salvation. But he had such a burden rolled upon him, and such an impression of men wrought in him by his call, that the gaining a man was now a kind of supreme aspiration of his Christed life. He could not so much as trim a sentence to catch the world's applauses; but he could be all things to all men himself, if by any

means he could gain some. Looked upon as weak in bodily presence and contemptible in speech or speaking voice, he was yet so deep in love and was so let into the knowledge of men by his urgent sympathies, that he took the sense and rose to the level, as in Athens, of all highest culture and philosophy, and was able thus, surpassing art without art, to make about the manliest and, morally speaking, grandest speech that ever was made. He was never unequal to an occasion, even though it was a shipwreck; simply because he had life enough to put his word into the cargo, and the helm, and the scattered planks, and the men.

In the same way, all the best preachers and pastors, coming after, got their success. They had come down close enough to men, in the Christly love, to catch the sense of their magnitudes. They did not seem therefore to be sailing over the world, like a dust-cloud that nobody wants to have settle, but they fell as dew on the living sensibilities of their times, dissolving all subtlest prejudices, and most cunning entanglements of error. Such were Chrysostom, Augustine, Tauler, Luther, Fenelon, Whitefield, Summerfield, Gossner, all of them felt to be live men, whose contact, like the touch of Gideon's angel, put men's hearts ablaze on the rock.

But we must go back a little way to the Scripture and observe a remarkable fact which distinguished the apostolic preaching, and that of all the more successful men that have come after, viz., that the interest they

feel in men, or human souls, is not gauged simply by what they are, but more by what they are becoming, or to be. They see themselves and all God's saints in a glorious uplifting or ennobling process, that kindles in them an immense expectation, and an almost superhuman ardor. Glorified mind!—this is the purpose of their gospel. And if there were a university that could finish a pupil up to that measure, it would even be a fault of the teachers, if their heads were not turned by it. On this point these Christian preachers put their eye, and the problem is,—"from glory to glory." They say nothing of "perfection," save in a certain lower, partly accommodated sense of the term, where we see them rushing by, or beyond, to something better and higher. Or, if they sometimes speak of it in the more absolute, ideal sense, they disclaim it as a grace already attained, and we see them stretching on to apprehend,—not exactly that, which never can be apprehended,—but the glory they were apprehended for, beholding, as it were, the gates of glorified possibility set open before them, and tracing, with their eye, the interminable progressions and the prospects boundless.

They put down, first, three "full assurances;" one of "hope," one of "faith" and one of "understanding;" showing the undone, guilty, fearing creature put on a base, if he will be, of true certified confidence that is well nigh deific. Next, they let him rise to the level even of his conscience, which is God's own level, pledging there the world, that he lives "in a con-

science void of offence." Then as to the past, the guilty and foul past, they allow him to be sure of his complete, everlasting purgation; of being washed and made white,—"whiter than snow"; and snow is very white. Again they pledge him a way of duty that is "liberty," done as in a "law of liberty;" the currents of the soul being now so rectified as to run no more against the currents of God; for, at the bottom of their promised liberty, they behold a paradox of possibility given,—"that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God"; filled and tided on, that is, in all the tides of God. They do more, they pledge what it is scarcely possible to understand and only possible to believe, a real traduction or passing over and personal appropriation of God's own characters and qualities; so that we may boldly "seek the righteousness of God," and have it "unto and upon" us in the faith of Jesus Christ; being so restored to the original normal footing, in which we and all upright creatures were set, to be charactered in God's everlasting overflow, even as the day is charactered from the sun. So they are likewise to have a traductive knowledge from him, that has no assignable limit, "the knowledge of God's will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding," his "anointing that teacheth all things." They conceive also great incomings of power, which are to put our being, so to speak, in the deific quantities; saying, "whatsoever ye ask believing,"—"greater works than these,"—"be thou, sycamine, plucked up and cast in the sea;" where they get us raised to

gifts of possibility so nearly boundless, that we forthwith set our incontinent reason, commonly, to a settlement or defining of their necessary limitations; not perceiving that they are purposely made boundless, because there is meant to be no bound, save what will be contained in the immensely variable possibilities and gradations of faith. They expect also a fertility in works of beneficence that is not to be measured by limitations; that every man shall be a light, and a salt, as diffusive as the sun and the sea; where also Christ himself declares: "He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." Rivers begin small, and grow large, and run a long time, and stretch themselves afar, and move irresistibly; and how much it signifies to be a river! And finally, what rises highest and signifies most, they behold a restoration begun of the mind's broken order under evil, and a re-crystallization of it in its normal working and harmony. Thus, coming into "the spirit of love," they perceive to be the same thing as coming into "a sound mind." They also pre-figure in Christ a casting down of all wild "imaginations" and a "bringing into captivity of every thought to the obedience of Christ." Blessed and high and dear captivity will it now be within, when all the propagations of thought, free thought, are captivated in sweet law, and set playing in the chime of order. In all which there seems to be anticipated a moving of the soul under its laws, so angelically beautiful and true, that when the will is

withdrawn, as in sleep, it will even dream in heaven's order.

Conceiving now these dignities, and powers, and forthcoming glories of souls, and beholding their uplifting of stature in the new divine life which is called their salvation, the preacher will better appreciate both men and the gospel, and will be raised to a new plane of action by the interest he feels. He will have great inspirations manward, such as suffer no slack working, such as make him instant in season and out of season, and keep him always in a thoroughly vital connection with his times.

Having suggested, in this very imperfect sketch, some of the modes of training by which we may bring ourselves closer to men, and make ourselves more vitally felt by them, I abstain from further illustrations.

One of my anxieties, in the treatment of this subject, has been to give no look of countenance, or favor, to a certain frivolous and light way of speaking in regard to it, such as we too frequently hear. As if it were only a matter of natural address in which the deficiency manwards appears, or as if nothing more were wanting for the remedy, but to be more completely and bravely men; or, as some will phrase it, more like natural born people and men of the world. But this contemptuous lightness, this very cheap kind of satire, is itself much further down below the range of dignity than it supposes, in that it so little conceives, or

so blindly ignores, what is the deepest, grandest note of capacity in all high preaching, viz., the momentum of God's private inspirations; that which makes the man a symbol, and a voice, and a power. Therefore, let him be or become as bravely man as you please, put him wholly on the felicity of his personal address, or the popularity of his natural parts, and he is nobody. A naturally demonstrative manner and action are good, and yet, by themselves, are good for nothing. The fine declaimers and speaking prodigies of the schools turn out always here to be only men of straw; with the disadvantage of not being combustible. A certain manner of reserve and strong discipline is often more impressive, even though there be some awkwardness in it. The preacher needs to be a man rather who has been taken apart, sometime, from men, to be closeted with God in private struggles. Any one can be accepted and made welcome by men, who will take their key and be one of them, but whoever will come to them closely in the key of their religious nature, must, first of all, be drawn up close to God, and come down thence deifically flavored to them. Besides it is only by sometimes getting far enough apart from them to adequately think who they are, that any one can duly understand them, and be qualified for the friendliest, most effective care of them. Large natu ral sympathies are good, but large supernatural are better; even such as have partly sounded the compassions of God, and had their own private Gethsemane. There will of course be no advertising by the

preacher of what God has been doing with him in secret, no parade of sensibility, no affectations of concern, but it will come out, as in spite of concealment, and, if it may, in spite of a certain robust manner, that here is one whose heart is heaving under a weight of private burden unconfessed. And this is the true hiding of power. A great, right soul, bearing visibly such loads from God, will never have a dreary, dreamy, far-off way, but will go directly into men's bosoms by the certificate of his own true feeling and his manly sense of man. Even his "good morning" will go through them as a welcome word from some beautiful otherwhere not of this world.

And such a man will not be simply one who has put his education-money into the preparation of this particular trade or profession, going forward now into it, as a practitioner duly qualified. He will not speak *secundum artem* out of his mere school advantages, but as one who has been training under the God-burdens of the great salvation, one who is now harnessed in the inspirations of his call and qualified as one of God's prophets.

I must add yet one word more that will draw us down upon the final point of our subject more closely. I admitted in the outset that a preacher, separated from men by his office, will be separated also from their sympathies, if he is not quickened from above, to reclaim the hold he has lost. I have also just now said, that a certain degree of withdrawment may be necessary to the best understanding of them, and the

closest sympathy with their want. The two points are not incompatible or contrary, but wholly comprehensible together. And these two poles we must learn how to hold in even conjunction. We are never to be afraid of going into separation from men's worldly tastes, or mere natural affinities, lest we lose our hold of them, but we are to get the stronger hold of their respect and sympathy by rightly doing it. We are to be always going apart, that we may come nigh; to be getting our Promethean fire from above and our clay from below; to send our prayers up after strength for our burdens and find below the burdens to be carried; to keep in God's high sympathy and bring that sympathy down close to men. And who, my friends, should better understand this footing of adjustment than you? For, look, what means yon solitary bulkhead, pier, tower, standing a long way off in the sea abreast of your city? So lonely and so far away, so nearly nowhere, has it not a look well nigh absurd? Ah, but there is a hidden connection. It is there for what it may be here, or send in hither. Yea, out of the belly of that creature flow rivers of living water. And here, at this hither end, have you not a whole great city pumping, and drawing, and drinking, and bathing, day and night and year by year? And how many kinds of comfort does that ample flood dispense; slaking your fevers, quelling your fires, laying the dust of your streets by showers that do not wait for clouds, preparing all your food, feeding the bloom of your gardens and conservatories, and filling the

lavers set for the washing of your sins. And if any one should say, behold there is water enough closer at hand, where the said far-off tower could have been more easily built, it must be enough to answer, that it was purposely set a long two miles away, that it might take in the waters of the clear, pure, central deep, and not the filthy dregs of the shore. Men and brethren, so be it ours to minister no gospel on the hither shore of our mere natural parts and powers, but to be conduit mouths opened far off rather, in God's pure, deep eternity, thence to bring in rivers of life for the cleansing, health-restoring, medicating grace of the world.

VIII.

OUR GOSPEL A GIFT TO THE IMAGINATION.*

The most unilluminated and least valuable of the Bampton Lecture volumes has been recently published by Mr. Garbett, under the title, "The Dogmatic Faith;" a title which does about equal violence to both the terms of which it is compounded. For the Gospel is no dogma, and if it were, could not be a faith. The word dogma indicates in its etymology and supposes in its common uses, a something thought; it is opinion offered to opinion as having a standard right; whereas the gospel is a revelation made up of fact and form and figure, and offered as a presentation to faith. It calls itself indeed "the faith," and he infers at once that, since it is an "authoritative faith," it must be dogmatic. Whereas all truth has this attribute of authority, though it does not follow that it has such kind of authority as allows it to be no faith at all, viz., dogma. What is given to faith is put forth in some fact-form or symbol to be interpreted by

* Contributed to the *Hours at Home*, in 1869, Vol. VII. The reader is referred for a full discussion of this subject to the "Essay on Language" in the volume, "God in Christ."

imaginative insight, or the discerning power of faith. What is given to opinion is given to the notional understanding. One imports liberty, and the other a certain dictational right as respects thinking. In one there is a perceiving by trust and the soul-welcome of trust; the other is a notional perceiving or thinking, without perhaps any soul-welcome at all. In his treatise therefore on the Dogmatic Faith, we are not surprised to find that Mr. G. is rather mixing ideas than clearing them, confounding also things to be spiritually discerned with things logically reasoned, or ecclesiastically determined.

His argument is principally concerned in removing "six" opposing claims, or points maintained. Whether he succeeds or not is a matter of small consequence, for he would not prove his doctrine if he should. Just that after all may be a fact, which, by a certain remarkable fatality, he assumes is not; for he ventures strangely on the affirmation, that the opposers of theoretic dogmatism in our day "do not rest on any allegation of inaccuracy in the process of formulating truth, but on objections against the existence and certainty of the truth itself." Exactly contrary to which, it will be seen that, on this question of a possible "accuracy in formulating truth," in distinction from "the existence and certainty of truth," everything, in the issue he makes, most emphatically depends. He supposes himself that there is to be a formulating process; which is a virtual concession that the gospel is not the complete dogma. And the

precise difficulty here to be encountered is that no such process of accuracy in "formulating" the dogma, as permits a possible hope of success, is provided by human language. As he himself conceives, dogma is "the settled and positive truth stated in words sharply defined;" or again, more exactly still, "a settled and certain truth, an attained resting-place for belief, from which, as from the maxims of mathematical science, we may confidently argue,"—just what everybody knows has never yet been found. And could he simply call it opinion, he would see at once that there has been no end to opinions under it and against it. Dogma has been always going to be, or just about to be settled, by some new school or teacher, yet in fact never is. If we could possibly think out a gospel, we could not frame it and phrase it in language, so as to make a finality of what we think. For we have no language for opinions in moral and religious matters that is not compounded in forms and figures, which are only images, and not exact notations for what they represent. They are good for the uses of faith and, in fact, more wondrously significant and sufficient in that manner, but they have no such determinate property as permits them to serve the uses of dogma.

I propose, in these suggestions, no formal controversy with Mr. Garbett's book. I only refer to it in the way of introducing a presentation as nearly opposite as may be at the point here stated. What I am going to advance will hold equally well in all matters of philosophic speculation; but, to simplify the argument,

I propose to confine my illustrations within the ranges, for the most part, of the Christian truth.

I shall endeavor to exhibit, as far as I can in the restricted limits of this article, the fact that our Christian Gospel is a Gift more especially to the Human Imagination. It offers itself first of all and principally to the interpretative imaginings and discernings of faith, never, save in that manner, to the constructive processes of logic and speculative opinion. It is, in one sense, pictorial; its every line or lineament is traced in some image or metaphor, and by no possible ingenuity can it be gotten away from metaphor; for as certainly as one metaphoric image is escaped by a definition, another will be taken up, and must be, to fill its place in the definition itself. Mathematical language is a scheme of exact notation. All words that are names of mere physical acts and objects are literal, and even animals can, so far, learn their own names and the meaning of many acts done or commanded. But no animal ever understood a metaphor: that belongs to intelligence, and to man as a creature of intelligence; being a power to see, in all images, the faces of truth, and take their sense, or read [*intus lego*] their meaning, when thrown up in language before the imagination.

Every word is a figure called in to serve a metaphoric use, in virtue of the fact that it has a physical base naturally significant of the spiritual truth or meaning it is used metaphorically to express. Physical

bases are the timber, in this manner, of all mental language, and are generally traced in the etymologies of the dictionaries; though sometimes they are lost and cannot be traced. And it is not merely the verbs, nouns, adjectives, that carry these metaphoric uses, but their very grammar of relationship, as they are found originally in space themselves, is also framed in terms of space by the little words called prepositions, which show their spatial images in their faces, *up*, *down*, *by*, *through*, *to*, *under*, *from*, *beyond* and the like. The whole web of speech is curiously woven metaphor, and we are able to talk out our thoughts in it,—never one of them visible,—by throwing out metaphoric images in metaphoric grammar so as to give them expression.

Let us go back now and take our lesson at the type history of the Scriptures. The temple and the whole temple service,—the sacrifices, lustrations of blood, purifyings, and the like,—was a figure, an apostle declares, for the time then present. His word here is παραβολη [*parable.*] Sometimes he uses the word *image*, sometimes *ensample*, and oftener the word *type;* but they all mean nearly the same thing. And here it is that we come upon the curiously fantastic type-learning, which figures so conspicuously in the sermons, commentaries, and theologic treatises of the former time. It is only fit subject of mirth, when it assumes that the types were given to signify to the ages that received them the great living truths of Christianity, and not to be vehicle and metaphor, afterward, for

them when they should arrive. These types, patterns, shadows, images, parables, ensamples, or whatever else they were called, are simply bases of words prepared to serve as metaphors of the new salvation when it should come. And for this purpose, in part, the altar service was instituted; for the gospel grace was to be a grace supernatural, and there were no types, no bases of words in nature, that could serve the necessary metaphoric uses. All the natural metaphors were in a lower field of significance, and all mere natural language fell short of the mark.

It may occur to some as an objection, that the apostle says: "a figure for the time then present." But he means "for the time then present," only in the sense that in using the altar-rites or rites of sacrifice, for their liturgy of worship, the men of old were brought into faiths, repentances and tempers analogical to those of the gospel grace. He does not mean that they saw Christianity and the gospel grace typified and foreshadowed in their rites. Not even the prophets themselves understood any such thing, but "were searching *what*, and what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify." These men of old were in the patterns of the heavenly things, not in the heavenly things themselves. Their rites were the bases of words some time to be used as metaphors of the Christian grace, but they did not see, as yet, what things the metaphors were going to express. They lived in the shadow of good things to come, but not in the very import of them.

But we must look into language itself and see how the great revelation of God is coming and to come. First of all, it is impossible, as we have seen already, that any terms of language for mental notions, things of the spirit, unseen worlds, beings invisible, should ever exist, save as there are physical images found to serve as metaphoric bases of the necessary words; for we cannot show them to the eye and then name them, as we do acts or objects visible; we can only hint them by figures, or objects metaphorically significant of them. And so we see beforehand, that all the truths of religion are going to be given to men by images; so that all God's truth will come as to the imagination. Hence the necessity of the old physical religion to prepare draperies and figures for the new. Hence also, when we come to the new, we are constantly met, we perhaps know not why or how, by images taken from the old, in a way that seems half fanciful and curiously mystical. Adam is the figure of him that was to come, the second Adam, because he, Christ, was to be the head, correspondently, of a spiritual generation. Christ is David, Melchizedek, high priest, the spiritual Rock, a prophet like unto Moses and I know not what beside. John the Baptist is Elias that was to come. In the same manner, heaven is a paradise or garden, or a new Jerusalem, or a state of glorious city life in God; the new society of grace is to be the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of heaven; and Christ himself is Messiah, that is, king. All the past is taken up as metaphor for all the

future. All these things, we are to say, "happened unto them for ensamples," that is, types for the expression of our higher truth.

And so we are questioning often about the credibility of a double meaning in scripture; as if it were a thing fanciful beyond belief. Whereas the meanings double and redouble as often as new typologies are made ready. The spiritual comes out of the physical, and the more spiritual out of the less; just because one thing is ready for the expression of another and still another. There is nothing fantastical in it, but it comes to pass under a fixed law of language,—all language, even the most common,—even as a stalk of corn pushes out leaf from within leaf by a growth that is its unsheathing.

Every dictionary shows the unsheathing process always going on; meanings coming out of meanings, and second senses doubling upon first, and third upon second, and so every symbol breeding families of meanings on to the tenth or twentieth and saying always, in the scripture way: "that so it might be fulfilled." This fulfilling is no scripture conceit, but is the systematic fact of language itself.

We shall get further insight into this matter by just considering the state of mind a prophet is in when he writes. He is lifted by his inspiration into a state of high beholding, as regards some matter which is to be the particular subject of his testimony; and the divine perceptiveness thus quickened in him,—so far the particular matter he sees,—will be the spec

ially God-given import of his message. Then he is to conceive, express, set forth in words for himself what is in his beholding. But he cannot testify any thing unknown, we see at once, save by images taken from the known. Suppose him to be set in some high *pose* of seership that really relates, if he could say it, to our new western world and the new day some time here to be seen. He cannot say "America," for that is a name not known as Grecia was. If he says, "beyond the sea," it would only mean outside the pillars of Hercules or Gibraltar Rock. He cannot seize on images in the Gulf Stream, or the Mammoth Cave, or Niagara, or the great lakes, or the forests, or the prairies, or the rivers, or the fierce, wild warriors of the woods. He has not an image distinctly American in his whole stock. What then can he say? Manifestly nothing; because he has nothing in which to say it. Possibly some of Isaiah's pictures of the "Isles waiting for God," and "the ships of Tarshish bringing sons from far, their silver and their gold with them," may have a look this way, taking old Tarshish for a figure, but we can never know. Under this same law, we have the fact of creation, as given in the first chapter of Genesis, beautifully illustrated. No human spectator saw the creation, and the only way in which it could ever be reported was by a kind of prophecy backward. Some great prophet soul, we may imagine, coasting round the work of God in a power of holy insight, or divine beholding, framed, as it were, his own divine concep-

tion of the fact as progressive, drawing itself on by irregular, indefinite stages,—no matter how long or short, or even how many,—and to set the stages forth, he caught up the natural time-spacing symbol of days, and made up a chapter of progressions that took a week of days before it was finished. To conceive anything more pitiful than the grubbing literalism that cannot think of days going thus into metaphor because they are in the Almanac would, I think, be difficult. Was there ever a case for metaphor more easily discernible beforehand?

We perceive in these illustrations how every revelator and teacher of things spiritual or things future, gets and must get his power to express the unknown by drawing images and figures from the known. As he must portray the new world by some old image of a Tarshish in the sea, or by some other like symbol, if he does at all, or the creation by the spacing figure of days, or heaven by the image of a paradise, or a great city Jerusalem, so it must be with everything.

Thus if God is to be himself revealed, he has already thrown out symbols for it, filling the creation full of them, and these will all be played into metaphor. The day will be his image, the sea, the great rock's shadow, the earthquake, the dew, the fatherhood care of the child, and the raven and the feeble folk of the conies,—all that the creation is and contains, in all depths and heights and latitudes and longitudes of space,—everything expresses God by some image that is fit, as far as it goes. "Day unto day uttereth

speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge." Metaphor on metaphor crowds the earth and the skies, bearing each a face that envisages the Eternal Mind, whose word or wording forth it is to be. Again he takes a particular people into covenant specially with himself, just in order to make their public history the Providential metaphor, so to speak, of his rulership and redeeming teachership, leading them on and about by his discipline, and raising light and shade as between them and the world-kingdoms of the false gods about them, to set himself in relief as the true Lord of all. And then, following still the same law of expression by outward fact and image, he crowns the revelation process by the incarnate life and life-story of his Son, erecting on earth a supernatural kingdom to govern the world in the interest of his supernatural redemption. And if we do not take the word in some light, frivolous, merely rhetorician way, we can say nothing of Christ so comprehensively adequate as to call him the metaphor of God; God's last metaphor! And when we have gotten all the metaphoric meanings of his life and death, all that is expressed and bodied in his person of God's saving help and new-creating, sin-forgiving, reconciling love, the sooner we dismiss all speculations on the literalities of his incarnate miracles, his derivation, the composition of his person, his suffering,—plainly transcendent as regards our possible understanding,—the wiser shall we be in our discipleship. We shall have him as the express image of God's person. We shall have "the

light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ." Beholding in him as in a glass the glory of the Lord, we shall be changed into the same image. The metaphoric contents are ours, and beyond that nothing is given.

Going on then to matters of spiritual use and experience in what we call the doctrine of his gospel, we have these given also to the imagination in terms of metaphor. As far back as the days of Abraham and Moses, words and images for this kind of use were very scantily provided. Even prayer was best described as a wrestling match. The prophets found images more nearly sufficient. And when Christ came, great images were evoked that never had been used before. He was called a door to be entered, a bread from heaven to be fed upon, a water of life to quench the thirst, life, way, shepherd, healer, teacher, master, king, and rock. And when the very point of a new life begun is to be explained or expounded, he draws on the well-known fact of proselyte baptism and calls it regeneration: "Art thou a master in Israel and knowest not these things?" Have you not seen the Gentile proselyte, before unclean, washed by a baptism and so regenerated, born over, naturalized, as we say, in Israel? So the unclean soul of sin, born of water and the Spirit, is entered, as a spiritually new man, into the kingdom of God. The great experience wrought is imaged thus, how beautifully and comprehensively, as a change from the unclean to the clean; and so the soul that was alien from God is

inducted into citizenship in God's everlasting kingdom. No finest words of analysis and psychologic statement could describe the great mystery of the Spirit half as effectively. So in the same chapter, the same thing is set forth under the image of the serpent lifted up in the wilderness. "Look unto me," says the Great Teacher now to be lifted up, "and, by that fixed beholding of your faith, the sin-plague in you shall be healed." That plague in its secret working, that healing in its secret cure, who shall describe it psychologically, even as this simple image does by its metaphoric use? Both these images, however, of regeneration and of spiritual healing were impossible before the ministry of Providence had prepared them. They came late because they could not come before.

The same again was true of the great reconciliation or atonement, in Christ's life and death. Plainly there was here no lamb, no fire, no altar, no literal sacrifice. There was a blood of murder, but no rite in blood, no sprinkling, no kind of lustral ceremony. And yet all these things are here as in metaphor, and are meant to be. One great object of the old ritual was to prepare these images and get them ready as a higher language for the supernatural truth. The people of the law were put in training under these patterns of the heavenly things, till the very mind of their nation should be stocked with images and metaphors thence derived for the heavenly things themselves. Who could ever have conceived the ministry and death of Jesus in these words of atone-

ment, sacrifice, and cleansing, whose mind had not first been Judaized in the stock images of its thinking? Suppose, for example, that some gifted Greek, having a soul configured to Plato's methods and ideas, had been with Christ, as Peter was, all through his life, and then, after his death, had written his epistle to expound him and his religion to the world. What could he have said of him more adequate than to set him forth as a beautiful and wise character doing wonders by his power; a friend of the poor, a healer of the sick, patient of contradiction, submissive to enemies, meek, true, the ever good, the perfect fair? That he has done any thing which can be called his sacrifice, any thing to recompose the breach of sin or to reconcile the world to God, will not occur to him, and he has no words to speak of any such thing. Not one matter most distinctively prominent in Christ's work, as expounded by his apostles, filling out in metaphoric glory all the terms of the altar, could have been given, or even thought by him. All the better, many will now say; we shall gladly be rid of all such altar figures; for it is too late in the day to be making Hebrews of us now. But suppose it should happen to be true that the all-wise God made Hebrews partly for this very thing, to bring figures into speech that Greeks and Saxons had not; that so he might give to the world the perfectly transcendent, supernatural matter of a grace that reaches high enough to cover and compose the relations of men to his government, a grace of reconciliation. Call the words

"old clothes" then of the Hebrews, putting what contempt we may upon them, still they are such types and metaphors of God's mercy as he has been able to prepare, and Christ is in them as in "glorious apparel!" Why to say: "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world," signifies, in the heart's uses, more than whole volumes of palaver in any possible words of natural languge. No living disciple, having once gotten the sense of these types of the altar, will ever try to get his gospel out of them and preach it in the common terms of language. Quite as certainly will he never try, having once gotten their meaning, to hold them literally,—Christ made literally sin for us, a literal Lamb, literal sacrifice, bleeding literally for the uses of his blood. But he will want them as the dear interpreters and equivalents of God's mercy in the cross, putting himself before them to read and read again, and drink and drink again their full divine meanings into his soul. Beholding more truths in their faces than all the contrived theories and speculated propositions of schools, he will stay fast by them, or in them, wanting never to get clear of them, or away from the dear and still more dear impression of their power.

So far on our way in discovering the close relationship of God's revelations and the inlet function of imagination to which they are given, I cannot do more, in this part of the subject, than simply to generalize the argument by just calling attention to the fact that so great a part of our Bible is made up of

compositions that are essentially poetic,—nearly all of it, except the parts rigidly historic or didactic, and even these have their prose largely sprinkled with poetry. History itself, in fact, is but a kind of figure, having its greatest value, not in what it is, but in what it signifies. Besides, the scripture books most nearly theologic are handling truths every moment, as we see at a glance, by their images. How didactic are the parables, and yet they are only metaphors drawn out! In the same way the disciples are God's living epistles, temples of the Holy Ghost, cities on hills, working as servants, running as in races, beholding as in glasses,—every single point of instruction comes out in some metaphor, so that we may safely challenge the specification of one that does not. And when we look into the argumentations we find them also hanging on figures of speech, such as law, circumcision, heart, grace, kingdom, life, motions of sins, liberty, flesh. Take up the chapters of Paul that are most closely reasoned, the fifth to the ninth, for example, of the Epistle to the Romans, and the scholar's eye, if not the common reader's, will discover some metaphor showing its face and turning the current of meaning in every sentence and in almost every principal word. Nay, it will be seen that even the little prepositions are struggling as hard in the metaphoric revelations as any of the other images concerned. Thus when we read: "*of* many offences *unto* justification;" "dead *to* the law *by* the body of Christ;" "*through* righteousness *unto* eternal life;" "*of* faith that it might be *by* grace;" we see the meanings

hanging quite as visibly on these little words as on the more prominent, and we go back, as it were, to their spatial images, before we get the meanings hitched in fit relationship. In as many as two cases they occur in triads, where some of our subtlest interpreters discover, as they think, affinities that tally secretly with the higher relativities of trinity: "For *of* him and *through* him, and *to* him;" "One God and Father of all, who is *above* all, and *through* all, and *in* you all." So strikingly is it shown us, everywhere on the face of scripture, that it is a gift in metaphor to the world's imagination.

Only God forbid that, when we draw ourselves out on this conclusion, we be understood to mean by the imagination what the rhetoricians teach, in the girlish definitions of their criticism. They describe it as a kind of ornamental, mind's-milliner faculty, that excels in the tricking out of subjects in high-wrought metaphoric draperies, and such they call "imaginative writing." As I am speaking here, the imagination has nothing to do with ornament. It is that which dawns in beauty like the day because the day is in it; that power in human bosoms which reads the types of the creation, beholding the stamps of God's meanings in their faces; the power that distinguishes truths in their images, and seizes hold of images for the expression of truths. So that a free, great soul, when it is charged with thoughts so high, and fresh beholdings in such vigor of life, that it cannot find how to express itself otherwise, does it by images and meta-

phors in flame that somehow body the meaning to imaginative apprehension.

Holding now this view of truth as presenting itself always by images metaphorically significant, never by any other possible means or media, it is very clear that all our modes of use and processes of interpretation must be powerfully affected by such a discovery.

First of all it must follow, as a principal consequence, that truth is to be gotten by a right beholding of the forms or images by which it is expressed. Ingenuity will miss it by overdoing; mere industry will do scarcely more than muddle it; only candor, a graciously open, clean candor will find it. We can take the sense of its images, only by offering a perfectly receptive imagination to them, a plate to fall upon that is flavored by no partisanship, corrugated by no bigotry, blotched by no prejudice or passion, warped by no self-will. There is nothing we cannot make out of them, by a very little abuse, or perversity. They are innocent people who can never vindicate themselves when wronged, further than to simply stand and wait for a more ingenuous beholding. And it is to be a very great part of our honor and advantage in the truth, that we have it by the clean docility and noble reverence that make us capable of it. We shall not be afraid of worshiping its images; for they are not graven images, but faces that express the truth because they are faces of God. We want, in fact, as a first condition, a mind so given to truth that our love and

reverence shall open all our sympathies to it and quite indispose us to any violent practice on its terms.

All mere logically constructive practice on them, twisting meanings into them, or out of them, that are only deducible from their forms and are no part of their real significance, must be jealously restrained. Nicodemus was falling straightway into this kind of mischief, when the words "born again" put him on asking, whether a man can be born of his mother a second time? It was in the form of the words, but how far off from their meaning! So, when it is declared that God is a rock and that God is a river, what follows, since things that are equal to the same things are, in strict logic, equal to one another, but that a rock is a river? Meantime God was not declared to be either rock or river, except in a very partial, metaphoric way. In the same way Christ is called a priest, and a sacrifice, and it follows in good logic that a priest is a sacrifice. Nobody happens, it is true, to have reasoned in just this manner, but how many do reason that, being called a priest and a sacrifice, he must be exactly both in the sense of the ritual; when, in fact, he is neither priest nor sacrifice, save in such a sense as these words, taken as metaphors, are able to convey. Nothing is to be gotten ever, by spinning conclusions out of the mere forms or images of truth, but mischief and delusion. And the record of religion is full of just this kind of delusion. All mere logical handlings are vicious, unless they are so far qualified by insight that insight gives

the truth, and then, of course, they are not wanted. Indeed, there is nothing in which the world is so miserably cheated, as in the admiration it yields to what is most logically deductive concerning moral and religious questions. It is even the worst kind of fault, unless it be only meant, as it often is when we say it, that they are written with true intellectual insight, which is a very different matter.

But we must have a theology, some will say ; how can religion or religious truth get body, or any firm hold of the world, without a theology ? And what is theology ? It is very commonly supposed to be a speculated system of doctrine, drawn out in propositions that are clear of all metaphor and are stated in terms that have finally obtained a literal and exact sense. But no such system is possible, for the very plain reason that we have no such terms. We have a great many words that have lost their roots or have come to be so far staled by use that the figures in their bases do not obtrude themselves on our notice. But if we suppose, as we very commonly do in all the logical uses of speculation, that they have become exact coins, or algebraic notations for the ideas represented by them, we are in a great mistake. When they are framed into propositions there is always some element of figure in the other words conjoined, or in the grammar of their prepositions, which makes a figure of the sentences constructed. If there is anything we miss in the really supreme merit of Professor Whitney's late book on language, it is a chapter showing at what

point the constructive processes of language leave it, as regards the possibilities of an exact notation, for the uses of moral and religious speculation. His beautiful analysis and fine critical perception would have shown us, I have no question, that theologic and moral science are about as deep in metaphor as prophecy and poetry themselves.

Some years ago one of our most brilliant, most esteemed teachers of theology published a discourse on "The Theology of the Intellect and the Feeling," meaning, it will be seen, by the Feeling, that which feels, or takes the poetic sense of figures and images; the same that I am calling here the Imagination. But the Intellect, he conceives, comes in, after all such vague presences or presentations to the feeling, gathers up the varieties, eliminates the contrarieties, and puts down in the terms of an exact language the real Christian doctrine. Taking, for example, the manifold various terms and figures employed in the metaphoric draperies of scripture language relating to the beginning of a new life,—"repent," "believe," "make you a new heart," "be converted," "born again,"—"the intellect," he says, "educes light from the collision of these repugnant phrases, and then modifies and reconciles them into the doctrine,"—literal now, exact, full-made theology,—"*that the character of our race needs an essential transformation by an interposed influence from God.*" It does not appear to be observed, that this very sentence, which affirms the great, inevitable, scientific truth of regeneration, is itself

packed full of figures and images, and is, in fact, interpretable only with more difficulty and more ambiguity than any and all the figures proposed to be resolved by it. Thus, for a first metaphor, we have "*character*:" and what is character? Literally it is *mark* or *distinction*. Then naturally it is one thing, morally another, spiritually another. Is it external? Is it internal? Is it made up of acts and habits? Is it the general purpose of the man? Or is it a birth into good affections by the Spirit of God? Or is it both? There is almost nothing we conceive so variously, and unsteadily, and advance upon by so many rectifications, even to the end of life, as this matter of character. "*Needs:*" and by what kind of necessity? Is it in the sense that we have full capacity, which, in our perversity, we will not use? Or in the sense that we have no capacity? Or that we have a receptive, or a partly receptive and partly active capacity? Do we need the change before believing, or after believing, or by and through believing? "*Essential transformation.*" Here we have two figures dead enough to be packed together, and which yet, if they were less dead, could hardly be joined at all. One relates to what is inmost, viz., to what is in the *essence* of a thing, and the other to what is outmost, the *form* of a thing. In what sense then essential? In what a transformation? In how many senses lighter and deeper can the words be taken? "*Interposed influence:*" first a word of *pose* or position; secondly, a word of motion, or *flow*. And what is

the inflow or influence, and what is it posited between? The Gospel revelation by Christ's life and death is one mode of influence; the power of the Spirit is another; the power of sacraments another; the human example of Jesus another. The influence may be summed up in truth, or it may be God's direct agency one side of truth. Could we but settle this one word *influence* alone, about all the great church controversies of eighteen centuries would be settled. "*From*": in what sense from? Is it *by* God from without? Or *by* God within? Is it *by* God directly, or *by* God medially, as in the Gospel? Or is it only *from* God as the source in whatever manner? Now I do not mean that, knowing who the author of this general proposition is, we have so many doubts about his meaning in it, but that, bringing to it all the beliefs and misbeliefs of the world and the age, we have all these and a full thousand other questions raised by it. In one view it may be true that it "educes light;" at any rate there may be uses in a proposition thus generalized; and yet it was possible to be made, only because the words were staled in so many ambiguities. And all the terms of theology are under the same conditions. We think we are coming down, perhaps, on exact statements, because we are coming down upon words that forget their figures, and yet the propositions are all woven up in figures, and cover ambiguities only the more subtle that we do not see them.

But we must have science, some will remember;

is there any hope for theologic science left? None at all, I answer most unequivocally. Human language is a gift to the imagination so essentially metaphoric, warp and woof, that it has no exact blocks of meaning to build a science of. Who would ever think of building up a science of Homer, Shakespeare, Milton? And the Bible is not a whit less poetic, or a whit less metaphoric, or a particle less difficult to be propositionized in the terms of the understanding. Shall we then have nothing to answer, when the sweeping question is put, why philosophy and every other study should make advances, and theology be only spinning its old circles and revising and re-revising its old problems? It must be enough to answer that philosophy, metaphysical philosophy, having only metaphor to work in, is under exactly the same limitation; that it is always backing and filling, and turning and returning, in the same manner; that nobody can name a single question that has ever been settled by all the systems it has built and the newly contrived nomenclatures it has invented. Working always in metaphors and fooling itself, how commonly, by metaphor, it gets a valuable gymnastic in words, and prepares to a more full and many-sided conception of words. So far it is fruitful and good, and just so far also is the scientific labor of theology. After all it is simple insight in both, and not speculation, that has the true discernment. Words give up their deepest, truest meaning, only when they are read as images of the same.

But we must have definitions, it will be urged, else we cannot be sure what we mean by our words, and when we have the definitions, why can we not have science? But if we mean by definitions an exact literal measurement of ideas, no such thing is possible. In what we call our definitions, whether in theology, or moral philosophy, we only put one set of metaphors in place of another, and, if we understand ourselves, there may be a certain use in doing it, even as there is in shifting our weight upon the other leg; perhaps we make ourselves more intelligible by doing it. And yet there is a very great imposture lurking almost always in these definitions. Thus if I may define a definition, the very word shows it to be a bounding off; where it happens, not unlikely, that a whole heaven's breadth of meaning is bounded out and lost; where again, secondly, it results that the narrow part bounded in and cleared of all grand overplus of meaning, is just as much diminished as it is made more clear and certain; and thirdly, that what one has bounded out another will have bounded in, either in whole or in part; whereupon debates begin, and schools and sects arise, clinging to their several half-truths and doing fierce battle for them. And probably another and still worse result will appear; for the generous broad natures that were going to be captivated by truth's free images, having them now defined and set in propositional statements, will, how often, be offended by their narrow theologic look and reject them utterly. Nothing makes infidels more surely than the spinning, splitting, nerveless

refinements of theology. This endeavor, always going on, to get the truths of religion away from the imagination, into propositions of the speculative understanding, makes a most dreary and sad history,—a history of divisions, recriminations, famishings, vanishings and general uncharitableness. Lively, full, fresh, free as they were, the definitions commonly cut off their wings and reduce them to mere pebbles of significance. Before they were plants alive and in flower, now the flavors are gone, the juices dried and the skeleton parts packed away and classified in the dry herbarium called theology.

We deplore, how often, with how great concern, and with prayers to God in which we wrestle heavily, our manifold sects and divisions. We turn the matter every way, contriving new platforms and better articles of dogma, and commonly find that, instead of gathering ourselves into a new and more complete unity, we have only raised new sects and aggravated the previous distractions. And yet many cannot conceive that the gospel is a faith, only in that way to be received, and so the bond of unity. They are going still to think out a gospel, assuming that the Church has no other hope as regards this matter but in the completing of a scientific theology; which will probably be accomplished about the same time that words are substituted by algebraic notations, and poetry reduced to the methods of the calculus or the logarithmic tables. There was never a hope wider of reason. The solar system will die before either that

or the hope of a complete philosophy is accomplished. No, we must go back to words, and compose our differences in them as they are, exploring them more by our faith and less by our speculative thinking. Having them as a gift to the imagination, we must stay in them as such, and feel out our agreement there in a common trust, and love, and worship.

See how it is with our two great schools or sects called Calvinism and Arminianism. The points at issue in the propositional methods of their theology are forever unreconcilable. They stand over against each other like Gerizim and Ebal. And yet they have a perfect understanding when they pray together, because they pray their faith out through their imaginative forms, and drop the word-logic forms of the Babel they before were building.

Again, we have a grand fundamental and most practical truth that we call trinity; Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God. These three images are God as delivered to the imagination, and the grammatic threeness in which they stand is a truth in metaphor, even as the grammatic personalities are metaphoric and not literal persons; and the God-idea, figured under these relativities, obtains, in the resulting mystery, the largest, freshest, liveliest impression possible. In what manner, at what point, the unity and plurality meet, we may never know. We only know that the unity is absolute and eternal; and the threeness, either a necessary incident of God's revelations, or of his own self-conscious activities considered as

the revelation of himself to himself; in either case eternal. We also know that using the three freely as the mind's necessary instrumentations, all speculation apart, we have God as he is, and coalesce in him as in perfect unity. But we cannot rest in this, we must be wiser; so we begin to speculate and make up a theology. Have we not three persons here represented by the personal pronouns of grammar? And what are persons but self-conscious, free-will beings, such as we know them to be and are in fact ourselves? Now we have gotten our three persons out of the metaphor-world into strict literality, and are landed of course in absolute tritheism; such as permits no unity at all. We have no unity even if we say we have, but only a three as absolutely plural as John, James, and Peter. Over opposite, seeing now the very evident absurdity we are in, comes out the Unitarian, using our same false method over again, so to make up another conclusion just as wide of the truth. Is not a person a person? If then God is declared to be one person, and again to be three persons in the same sense, how are we going to believe it? So rejecting the three that were three transcendently, as in metaphoric type and grammar, he falls back on the one, the Father: he alone is God, and reason is no more offended. In that one personality he is thus a person thought, a dogmatic one person, having, of course, the exact type of the human person. The disciple of the new speculation is greatly relieved and with much self-gratulation. But let him not be sur-

prised to find, as he goes on to assert the Father, always the Father, under the type of a finite personality, that his God is gradually losing dimensions and growing smaller and smaller, even to worship itself. The three metaphoric persons were going, at once, to save God's personality and his magnitudes, by the maze and mystery created, but now they are gone, and the one finite personality left sinks everything with it to the ground; so that one, and another, and another of the great authors in this key begin, spontaneously, to make up size for their deity, by speaking of the gods, and what is due the gods. How plain is it now that, if we all could take the scripture one and three, as given to the imagination, pouring in at that free gate to get our broadest possible knowledge of God, we should neither starve in the one, nor be distracted in the three, nor worried by controversy with each other as regards either one or three.

So when we come to the person of Christ; what he is to the imagination, as the express image of God, God thus manifest in the flesh, is everything; what he is in his merely human personality, and how that personality is related to and unified with the divine nature, is nothing. All is easy when we take him for what of God is expressed in him; but when we raise our psychologic problem in his person, insisting on finding exactly what and how much is in it, and how it is compacted, we are out of our limit, and our speculation is only profane jangling.

Exactly the same thing is true in respect to the

metaphors of the altar, when applied to signify Christ's saving work and sacrifice. Take them as they rise in the apostolic teachings, God's figures for the men of old, in the time then present, and for us in the time now present; then as facts of atoning, now as metaphors of the same; and they will be full of God's meaning, we shall know ourselves atoned once for all by their power. But if we undertake to make a science out of them, and speculate them into a rational theory, it will be no gospel that we make, but a poor dry jargon rather; a righteousness that makes nobody righteous, a justice satisfied by injustice, a mercy on the basis of pay, a penal deliverance that keeps on foot all the penal liabilities. All attempts to think out the cross and have it in dogmatic statement have resulted only in disagreement and distraction. And yet there is a remarkable consent of utterance, we plainly discover, when the cross is preached, as for salvation's sake, in the simple use of the scripture symbols taken all as figures for the time then present.

Once more, even that most intractable and seemingly unreducible division, in which communion is broken across the mere form of Baptism, when there is an admitted agreement and even ready acknowledgment in the living truth of experience, will at once be rectified by simply consenting to make due account of metaphor. Nothing is more clear on the face of the rite than that it has its whole significance as a metaphor; even as the Supper is a metaphor of hospitality. As a mere touch of the elements too in the Supper signi-

fies metaphorically more than the gorging of a full meal, so the mere touch of that most pure, pure element, water, signifies practically more of the cleansing than a bowl, or a barrel, or a full bath. A sprinkle of clean water makes clean, a washing of the feet makes clean every whit. Nothing then is wanted for communion here, but for every brother to know that every other holds and means a baptism in the figure of a cleansing by the Spirit. Peter the apostle was able to draw this matter of baptism to a still finer point. For as Noah's flood was the world's cleansing, he declares that "the like figure, even baptism [baptism was a *figure*, as we see, to him] doth also now save us." In that water voyage of Noah, there was baptism enough, in his view, to serve as the analogon of salvation, though the particular point of the story was that, while the ark was sufficiently deluged with rain, Noah and his household were kept dry. I make nothing here of the *burial* figure, save that the cleansing itself imports a consecration in which there is, of course, a death to the world. Burials in water are not among human events. Will not our Baptist brotherhood some time awake to their privilege, in the discovery, that they may rightly own as the baptized all such as have truly meant baptism, and signified the same faith with them in God's all-cleansing Spirit,—which is the all of baptism? Go back here to the metaphor and keep that good, and nothing more is wanted, or can, without wrong, be required as the gospel condition of acknowledgment and unity. Noth-

ing more will be required when the day of promised brotherhood and liberty arrives.

Here then is the point on which all sects and divisions may be gravitating and coming into settled unity. What is wanted, above all things, for this end is not that we carefully compose our scientific theology, but that we properly observe, and are principally concerned to know God in his own appointed images and symbols. We must get our light by perusing the faces of his truth; we must behold him with reverent desire in the mirrors that reveal him, caring more to have our insight purged than to spin deductions and frame propositions that are in the modes of science or of system. We shall of course have opinions concerning it. A considerable activity in opinions is even desirable, because it will sharpen our perceptiveness of the symbols and draw us on, in that manner, towards a more general and perfect agreement. Only our opinions must be opinions, not laws, either to us or to anybody; perhaps they will change color somewhat even by to-morrow. We must also understand that our opinions or propositional statements are just as truly in metaphor as the scripture itself, only metaphor probably which is a good deal more covert and often as much more ambiguous. We may draw as many creeds as we please, the more the better, if we duly understand that they are standards only as being in metaphor, and not in terms of exact notation. None the less properly standard is the Nicene Creed, that it is given visibly to the imagination, and has even its

highest merit at the point where it takes on figure up to the degree of paradox: "God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God." Visibly absurd, impossible, false to mere speculation, it is even the more sublimely, solidly true. There has never, in fact, been a dissent from it which did not take it away first from the imagination and give it to the notional understanding.

And yet there will be many who can see no possibility, taking this view of the Christian truth, of any thing solid left. We set every thing afloat, they will say; nothing definite and fixed remains to be the base-work of a firm-set, stanchly effective gospel. What is the Christian truth but a dissolving view of something to be known only by its shadows? But we are easily imposed upon here by what has no such value as we think. We commence our thinking process at some point, we analyze, we deduce, we define, we construct, and when we have gotten the given truth out of its scripture images into our own, and made an opinion or definited thing of it, we think we have touched bottom in it and feel a certain confidence of having so much now established. But the reason is, not that we have made the truth more true, but that we have entered our own self-assertion into it in making an opinion or dogma of it, and have so far given a positivity to it that is from ourselves. And yet, the real fact is exactly contrary; viz., that there is just as much less of solidity in it as there is more that is from ourselves. We take

up, for example, the doctrine so-called of repentance, and we find a certain word representing it which means thinking over, changing the mind, and then we lay it down as the positive doctrine that repentance is forming a new governing purpose. That sounds very definite, quite scientific ; something we have now found that is clear and determinate. But it turns out, after a few years of preaching in this strain, that the truth we thought so solid is so inadequately true after all as not to have the value we supposed. As a merely one-figure doctrine it is of the lean-kine order, and we get no sense of breadth and body in the change defined, till we bring in all the other figures, the "godly sorrow," the "carefulness," the "self-clearing," the "indignation," the "fear," the "vehement desire," the "zeal," the "revenge," conceiving all these fruits to be from God's inward cogency working thus in us to will and to do. Now we take broad hold; these are the solidities of a completely, roundly adequate conception.

We never so utterly mistake as when we attempt to build up in terms of opinion something more solid and decisively controlling, than what comes to us in the terms of the imagination ; that is, by metaphor. The Scriptures, we repeat how often, commend us to "sound doctrine," and assuming this to be the same as doctrine well speculated, we begin to magnify and breed sound doctrine after that fashion ; whereas, they only mean sound-making, health-restoring [hygeian] doctrine ; which is sure enough indeed to keep good, because it is sure to be wanted, having always in it

the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind. The most food-full doctrine is, in this view, the soundest. Is there any theologic article or church confession more solid and fixedly standard-like in its ideas than the Psalms and the Prophets? The parables of Christ, —what are they but images and figures visible given to the imagination? We turn them a thousand ways in our interpretations, it may be, but we revere them none the less and hold them none the less firmly, that they are rich enough to justify this liberty. A particular one of them in fact, the parable of the prodigal son, is even a kind of pole-star in the sky of the gospel, about which formulas, and creeds, and confessions, are always revolving in ephemeral changes, while that abides and shines. Again there is nothing, as we all are wont to feel, that is more solid than our heavenly state, and we call it, in that view, the city that hath foundations. And yet we have no formula that defines it, and no single word of description for it that is not confessedly a figure. It is a garden, a tabernacle, a bosom of Abraham, a new Jerusalem, a city of God cubically built on stones that are gems. If then, nothing is solid, as some will be ready to judge, that is representable only in terms of the imagination, our hopes are all afloat in the sky, or on the air, and our heaven is but a phantom-state which, determinately speaking, is just nowhere and nothing. And yet we do not think so. No Christian man or woman has any such misgiving. Again, why is it that no dogmatic solution of the cross, solid enough

to hold the faith of the world, has ever yet been made, while the gospel figures of it are accepted always, rested in and regarded as the pillar of all comfort and hope?

Glancing for just a moment at one or two more strictly human illustrations, what utterance of mortal mind, in what scheme of theology or church confession, has ever proved its adamantine property as fixedly as the Apostles' Creed? And yet there is not a single word of opinion or speculated wisdom in it. It stands wholly in figure, or what is no wise different, in facts that were given to be figure. But if there is any realm of central, astronomic order, it has been this fact-form, truly Copernican confession, about which all the orbits of all the saints, have, in all ages, been revolving.

Summon again for comparison two such masters of doctrine as Turretin and Bunyan; one a great expounder in the school of dogma, and the other a teacher by and before the imagination. Which of these shall we say is the more solid and immovably fixed in authority? The venerable dogmatizer is already far gone by, and will ere long be rather a milestone of history than a living part of it. His carefully squared blocks of opinion and the theologic temple he built of them for all ages to come are already time-worn, crumbling visibly away, like the stones of Tyre, and as if the burden of Tyre were upon them. But the glorious Bunyan fire still burns, because it is fire, kindles the world's imagination more and more, and

claims a right to live till the sun itself dies out in the sky. His Pilgrim holds on his way still fresh and strong as ever, nay, fresher and stronger than ever, never to be put off the road till the last traveler heavenward is conducted in. And yet he saw beforehand that he was likely to be considered a very light kind of teacher, and bespoke more patience than some could think he deserved.

"But must I needs want solidness, because
By metaphors I speak ? Were not God's laws,
His gospel laws, in olden time, set forth,
By Shadows, Types, and Metaphors ? Yet loth
Will any sober man be to find fault
With them, lest he be found for to assault
The highest Wisdom ! No, he rather stoops,
And seeks to find out, by what 'Pins,' and 'Loops,'
By 'Calves,' and 'Sheep,' by 'Heifers,' and by 'Rams,'
By 'Birds,' and 'Herbs,' and by the blood of 'Lambs,'
God speaketh to him ; and happy is he
'That finds the Light and Grace that in them be."

IX.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT BY DIVINE RIGHT.*

JER. 30:21. And their nobles shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them; and I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me: for who is this that engaged his heart to approach unto me? saith the Lord.

Taken, as by the sound, these words appear to be a kind of American Scripture; and still more, when the notably English word "*nobles*" is substituted, as it should be in correct translation, by the singular word *chief* or *leader*. Then the declaration is that God will now be united to their chief or governor, so that while he is one of the people,—exalted, or called from among themselves,—he shall consciously and even visibly rule by a divine sanction. In the restoration at hand, it shall not, in other words, be as it was before, when the kings and captains of the land were so often idolaters, or infidels, but the discipline the people have had in their bitter captivity shall have brought them and their rulers in, at last, to God,

* Delivered on the day of the National Thanksgiving, Nov. 24, 1864, in the South Church, Hartford, before the congregations of that and the South Baptist Church.

and given to their government a crowning authority under religious ideas and sentiments. "And their chief shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them; and I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me; for who is this that engaged his heart to approach unto me? saith the Lord";—who, that is, but me, by my own strong Providence in their captivity, and the restoration now of their lately broken country and government?

Just as we ourselves, in this dreadful war-struggle by which we are trying to vindicate and establish our shattered unity, have our public feeling itself so visibly tempered by religion, and have it even as a pleasure, in our proclamations, dispatches, and speeches, to submit ourselves, in homage and trust, to the sacred name and Providential rule of God. Just as now, for the first time, we issue a religious coin, with the motto: "*In God we trust.*" Just as many too of our countrymen, dissatisfied with the irreligious or, at least, unreligious accident, by which our Constitution omits even the mention of God, began a year ago, and this day are again assembled in Philadelphia, to advocate the memorializing of Congress for an amendment, among others, to the Constitution, that shall make some fit acknowledgment of God and of the fact that human government stands in true authority only when it rules in the emphasis of religious sentiments and sanctions.

What, I propose, accordingly, on the present occasion, is to follow the train of suggestion started by

the words of the prophet, showing especially this; that popular governments, or such as draw out their magistracies by election from among the people themselves, are not likely to be completed at the first, but have commonly to be completed historically afterward, and get their moral crowning of authority by a process of divine discipline more or less extended. How this process works, in our own case, it will be my endeavor to show. And I hope to make it appear, to the satisfaction of you all, that we are now come to the final establishment of our government in those religious sentiments and ideas, which are at once the deepest bases and highest summits of a genuine state authority. This, I think, we shall discover and even thankfully accept, as being the true meaning of the present awful chapter of our history. No people of the world were ever sheltered under institutions so genial and benign as ours. They have yielded us blessings of freedom and security hitherto, which no nation of mankind has ever enjoyed in the same degree. But our sense of allegiance, or civic obligation under these institutions, we have always felt and now more than ever perceive, has hitherto been thin and flashy; as if they were, after all, inventions only of man and not the ordinance of God. What more stunning evidence could we have than the fact of this horrid rebellion,—a whole third of the nation renouncing their allegiance, even as by right, without so much as an apparent thought of crime! In this view let us welcome God's process of training and see if we can trace it.

Before proceeding, however, with the more direct matter of our inquiry, let us first glance a moment at the philosophic foundations of government, that we may clear a way for the exposition of fact that is to follow.

The more deeply we consider this matter of civil government, the more nearly impossible it will be, on mere grounds of philosophy, to construct a government without some reference to a Supreme Being.

Thus if we say that the law is to be grounded in right, right is a moral idea, at whose summit stands God, as the everlasting vindicator of right. If we imagine that mere enforcements will create obligation, apart from any moral consideration whatever, we have only to observe that when statutes are enforced by fines, no good citizen is satisfied because, having broken the statute, he has paid the fine. Enforcements create fear but never obligation. True obligation towers above all enforcements. No touch of it is ever felt, till the subject hears the state, unseen yet somehow divine, commanding through the laws enacted.

If we imagine that the human will of magistrates may somehow create law and wield authority, what do we find, in every real government, but that the magistrates themselves are as truly bound by the laws as the private subjects are; and the insensible, corporate, everywhere electric presence of the state will have magistrates and people all alike submitted to it, as the instrumentalities and objects of its sway?

How plain is it, too, that civil obligation takes hold of the conscience, whenever it is truly fastened upon the subjects of government! And what is the conscience, but that summit of our nature where it touches God?

Nor is it any objection that the subjects of many real governments are idolaters and have no rational conception of God. Enough that their conscientious obligations under law will reach higher than their understanding, accepting with implicit and potential homage the Being whom, as yet, they do not think or know.

Regarding the state then as having a legitimate and proper right of government only when it is a factor, so to speak, in the Divine Government itself, it becomes a very considerable question, when it may be so considered. I cannot undertake, of course, to settle all the difficult points of casuistry that may here be raised. I am not required to show whether the governments in Poland, France, and Mexico are the ordinance of God, nor whether the governments of Charles I. and Louis XVI. have ceased to be. It must be enough that government, in the ordinary condition of mankind, is universal, just as gravity is universal in matter. And as gravity is just as real and practically the same to them that do not know it, as to them that do, so is God's ordinance of government the same to them who only have it by impression, as to them who have it by knowledge or opinion. The real fact is that we have a nature configured inwardly

to the civil state, and are, in fact, civil-society creatures. We do not even conceive the possibility of living without government. We fly to it, even the world over, as the necessary shelter of our life. It may be this or that, it may be in the chieftain of a clan or tribe, it may be a wild, ungenial, or even a bloody and barbaric absolutism; be it what it may, the civil-society nature invests it with a gloomy and blind sovereignty, and bows to it as to some higher kind of being, closer to God or the gods. And so the world is parceled off, in all ages, into governments in the most incongruous and grotesque as well as the most august shapes, yet all alike, with only here and there an exception, received with unquestioning homage, and bearing rule in acknowledged right and authority.

Furthermore, as civil government is one of the greatest interests of mankind, there is either no such thing as Providence, or else it must also be one of the principal cares of Providence. And it will almost always be felt that the government in power is in such a sense historic, that it could not well be different from what it is. In that view it will be accepted as a kind of Providential creation. And this is very specially true of our own. It was not necessary for God to give it authority by saying from the sky: "This is from me." Enough that if we do not hear the voice, we feel the hand. First, there is given us a beginning here, in provinces, or colonies, hereafter to be called states. We are set crystallizing, as such, in the bosom of the common law of England, receiving,

in that manner, all the great principles of right and liberty that are the heritage of Englishmen. Next, we are cut off from all distinctions of blood, which might give us a possible king and nobility. And so, when we came to institute a frame of government we were literally cornered into just the government we have. We must be states and also the United States. We had, in fact, the name upon us before we spoke it, and the Constitution in us before we saw it on paper. The Philadelphia Convention did scarcely more, in fact, than draw out the constitution already framed by Almighty God in the historic cast of our nation itself. We do not all say this or see it; many of us do not see distinctly any thing, but that certain men asserted certain magic formulas, which are conceived to have done everything for us. Still we have the feeling, all of us, that we have just the government that belongs to us; which is, in fact, the same thing as a feeling that it is the creature of God's Providence. Moral and religious ideas come slow and arrive late, but what we have had implicitly as a feeling is now, I trust, to be felt more distinctly, and even formally thought and acknowledged.

Leaving now these generalities behind us, we go on to sketch the process by which our American government is to be thus consummated and to become a full-toned, proper government, under moral and religious ideas. I call it a process; and as every such process advances by crises, not by an imperceptible growth,

there appear to have been three such crises that must needs be passed. Let us note them in their order; first, the two that are already passed, and then the third, which we are passing now.

First, we have the stage of self-assertion or declared Independence, in which our new state of order began. It was no single champion that got us in his power and fought us into separation, to be the prize of his own chieftainship. That would have inaugurated a monarchy or absolute government, not a free and popular government. We undertook, as a people, just opposite to this, to champion our own right and assume a new civil condition for ourselves. And this we should naturally do, by reverting to principles conceived to be most fixed and absolute. To separate was to rebel, and rebellion could stand by no mere argument of liking, or convenience, or interest, or passion. We began thus to conceive that we had certain inborn natural rights, and very soon also to maintain them by a stiff and sturdy assertion; sometimes, it would seem, by a considerable over-assertion.

In some cases, our leaders had been considerably affected by the political theories of Rousseau and other French infidel writers, who began at the point of what they called nature and natural right in men, contriving how civil society might arise, and could only arise lawfully, by their consent, or compact, or vote, and the surrender of their individual rights, to make up the public stock of powers and prerogatives

in the state. In other cases and parts, we had been shaped historically by our popular training in the church, and the little democracies of our towns and colonial legislatures, and so had become ready, as the others, to make a large assertion of our inborn, sacred rights and liberties. As a natural result, the two schools flowed together, coalescing in the same declarations of right, and the same impeachments of wrong, followed by the assertion of a common independence.

In this manner, without any very nice consideration of our meaning, or precisely defined criticism of our principles, we bolted on the world in our famous July declaration. The pressure of the time was too close to allow any very deliberate measurement of ideas. Appealing thus to "the laws of nature and of nature's God," we declare it "to be self-evident that all men are created equal,"—a very much easier thing to say, than to show wherein they are equal, or that simply created men, born into no social and civil distinctions, have any where existed, since the time of the creation,—also, that "they are endowed, by their Creator, with inalienable rights," to secure which "governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." And so we have New England and Virginia, Puritan church order and the doctrine of the French Encyclopedia, fused happily together in the language of Mr. Jefferson, and the "Creator" and his friends are duly honored by admission to a considerable place in a really

atheistic bill or doctrine. Our new political order which is older, in fact, than this document, is yet chronologically born of it,—though not, in any sense, of the matter of this preamble. This is not the sober fact of our history, but only the paradise of the July orators.

Far be it from me to satirize this very dear chapter of our nationality. The doing was grand, but the doctrine of the doing was eminently crude, as Mr. Jefferson very well knew how to be. In a certain possible sense it was true, but in the sense in which it is commonly understood it can only operate and has always operated destructively; working as a kind of latent poison against all government from the first day until now, as we shall by and by see.

The true merit of this document, for merit enough it has, lies in the bill of facts and grievances stated afterwards, not in the matter of the preamble. Probably some of these facts are a good deal exaggerated, but we may take them all together, and sum them up in a single inclusive impeachment, which is true beyond debate and amply sufficient; viz., that the British mother country was holding us only as provinces to be farmed for her own uses, and not with any thought of benefit to us; keeping us for trade and taxation, and place, and office, giving us no voice in the parliament, and permitting us, in fact, NO FUTURE. Exactly this too, was what every American felt; this was the real grievance that stung our people, and that sting was God's inspiration in their bosoms. And

now, what living man, having simply reason for his attribute, will imagine that God's high Providence could have meant this vast, almost continental region of the new world to be, for all time, the mere convenience and farmhold subserviency of a little patch of island three thousand miles away! We talk about the right of revolution and puzzle ourselves much in that kind of question. There is certainly no such right in government itself, or under government; which is the really new doctrine asserted in what is called the right of secession. If there is any right of revolution at all it is a right against government that is really no government; and it cannot stumble any one to admit that such a right exists. Be that as it may, we undertook no proper revolution of the mother country, but leaving all her laws and magistracies still standing as before, we simply assert the right to be, and have a future ourselves. The real fact was that we had the momentum, in our feeling, of too vast a future, and slung away the British king and parliament just because they undertook to be the centre of gravity for us, even as an asteroid might for the sun. Weight of being,—here is the real argument,—weight of being began to be felt here, and the laws of proportion, consciously or unconsciously working in us, threw us into separation, as it were by the laws of arithmetic, or what is not far different, by the sentence of God. We revolted transcendentally, for reasons deeper than we conceived; such as we could only feel. The case was peculiar. There had been many

revolutions; never before, that I know, a separation by specific gravity.

Had we been able to conceive the matter in this way, at the time, it would have saved us the necessity of, alas! how many pernicious nostrums, accepted from that time onward as maxims even of political philosophy. There was no need of adverting to some original, barely created, ante-civil equality, as the paradise of all true right and reason; contriving, with Rousseau, how we gave up, by consent, these primal honors of equality, and surrendered this and that natural right, to make up a pool of endowment large enough for the outfit of a government. We never had, as individual men, any one such right to surrender,—no right to legislate, make arrest, imprison other men, try them, enforce contracts, investigate titles, punish frauds and wrong doings. Governments have such rights because we have them not, and we have them not on the ground that governments have them for us. And governments are as old as we. We are not born sole men or monads, afterwards if we can to come into society and manufacture government from below. We are born into civil society as we are into the atmosphere; we were already born into British civil society and became legitimate subjects of it; this too, with as little right of consent as whether we should be born at all. The only question was whether, having been grown as a seed in the capsule of that stem, we had a right to get ripe and let go connection, so to become a stem by ourselves. No

greater fiction is conceivable, than that we fell back in our act of separation from the mother country upon an original equality, to give up a part of the same by compact, and so become a state. It is very true that we are all equally human, equally entitled, in the right of our inborn conscience and eternity, to the best possible chances of intelligence and character. But if we undertake to assert that we are all, by nature, equally entitled to a government by consent, and to count one in the public suffrage of such a government, it may be very well for us, Americans, that it is so; better, in fact, than any thing else; but I know not where there is any such universal principle. A born magistracy, however unequal, be it kingly, or noble, is good without consent, if only it rule well. What can be more preposterous for us, or a conceit more fatal to our moral sobriety, than to assume that there is no legitimate government in the world and never has been, to the present hour, but our own, in the principle forsooth that all governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?" No such consent, whether express or implied, was ever a fact. It never has been, even with us. Our own original constitutions were made, in general, by the votes of property-holders. Minors and women, that is a full two-thirds of our people, are excluded still from any such consent, and, what is more, forbidden even the right of dissent. We male citizens too, of the living generation, have never, in fact, had the opportunity of con-

sent to the United States' government; and how little any such consent may signify, we plainly see, in the fact that the laws are, at this very moment, fighting down with sword and gunpowder, whole sections of country that have been protesting many years against its sovereignty. They are going to be governed, we still say, but where is their consent? Alas, had no such half-principle, or no-principle of consent been asserted, how different might our condition be!

Furthermore, it is a remarkable fact that, after this rather high sounding appeal to supposed foundation principles of government, in many cases we did not organize any new government whatever, but went on generally with the old state governments, just as they were, only declaring them to be "Independent States." We did not even declare ourselves to be a nation. Neither did we, in fact, organize a nation. The Articles of Confederation were only a machine contrived to make the states work together; a harness and not a Constitution. There was a Congress and the Con gress had a President, or presiding officer, but there was no President of the republic; no supreme court, no criminal code, and no right of criminal proceeding; no right of taxation or impost, save by the states; no law, in fact, which directly touched the person of any citizen; nothing but a right to get men and means for the common purposes, by requisitions on the states, where the congress voted only by states,—each state, great and small alike, having a single and, of course, equal vote. And even then the vote had no compel-

ling sanction; it was simply an appeal to the good faith of the states. What, in this view, had become of the ultimate principles announced, with so great philosophic pretension, in the preamble of the declaration!

It was something, doubtless, that the states were independent states, but we had, as yet, no common government; for the confederation was only a league, and not, in any sense, a government. But the governments, that is, the states, went on bravely together, and fought the battle finally through, held together firmly by the outside pressure of the war. Then came the day of trial. As soon as the outside pressure was gone, the loose-jointed machinery of the league began, at once, to fall apart. The states laid impost duties in their own right; they often gave no heed to the requisitions of the congress, killing them as it were by simple silence; the public credit gave way; the paper money lost value; the common devotion grew slack, collapsing in blank apathy and hopeless discouragement. Whoever looks over the sad picture given by Mr. Hamilton, in the *Federalist*, will see that a complete lapse, under atrophy and final extinction, was close at hand.

This brings me to the second stage or crisis in the process of our advance towards a complete government, that, viz., which we passed in the organization of our National Constitution. Here the effect is, though it is not commonly so stated, to drop the mere

machine, or harness of common working for the states, and create or institute a proper government for them. Before, the states were sovereign, and were not subjects at all, in the sense of being under government. There is now to be a power created that can move, without moving solely through states; the new government is to have a new order of subjects, viz., the people themselves; holding them in terms of direct allegiance to itself. "The great and radical vice," says Mr. Hamilton, "in the construction of the [then] existing Confederation, is in the principle of legislation for *states* or governments, in their corporate, or collective capacities, as contra-distinguished from individuals." (*Federalist*, No. XV.) And, again, "We must incorporate into our plan those ingredients that may be considered as forming the characteristic difference between a league and a government, and must extend the authority of the Union to the *persons* of the citizens, the only proper objects of government." (*Federalist*, No. XV.)

Hence the Constitution; wherein we get a President or National Chief Magistrate, a right of impost general, of taxation, of military levy, of Courts of Admiralty and a criminal jurisdiction, a Supreme Court with a right of appeal from the state courts, arraignments for treason, every thing that belongs to the highest functions of a supreme government.

Now there begins to be a ring of authority and decisive obligation in the civil order of the Republic. The people feel the contact now of its laws, and rejoice in the sense of a new born nationality. I need not

sketch the picture; sufficient to say, that no people of the earth were ever before as free, and secure, and prosperous, and happy. Our progress, accordingly, even astonished ourselves. A national feeling, too, was growing up, silently and imperceptibly to ourselves, and the state feeling was subsiding into a more nearly domestic or household sentiment. Both kinds of allegiance are dear to us, but the higher allegiance raises a higher devotion; even as the flag which represents it everywhere, in every sea and clime and field of common battle, becomes a symbol more significant and sacred than the flags of the states. The states, too, have consented knowingly to have it so. They had rights of government as individuals never had, and it is matter of indubitable and sober history that they did surrender certain very eminent rights, to endow the prerogatives of the general government. And to make it a sacrifice more free, and give the act a greater solemnity, the People of the States, in place of the State Legislatures, themselves voted the surrender. And so it results that the states are governments in virtue of their reserved rights, and the State General or nation is a government in virtue of its contributed rights. Both are sovereign in their sphere; both govern as final authorities. Only it results, of course, that the General Government is a higher and more eminent sovereignty, according to the more eminent powers of peace, and war, and final appeal, that are given it.

Still there is a weak spot here, and it was growing

weaker for a long time, till finally, four years ago the bond was broken asunder. This weak spot and final break of order began at what is called "the State Rights doctrine" of Mr. Calhoun. He takes ground here exactly opposite to Mr. Hamilton and the *Federalist*, maintaining still "that there is no immediate communication between the individual citizens of a state and the general government. The relation between them is through the state." (Letter to Gov. Hamilton.) This being true, the governmental function proper, viz., that of authority to bind the private wills and consciences of personal subjects, falls to the ground, and nothing, after all, is really gained by the Constitution. Still we have no government as before, but only a league.

The claim of Mr. Calhoun is perfectly unhistorical and against even the letter of the Constitution beside. Has the man who wants a patent for his new invention or a copyright for his book, no immediate relation to the general government? Has the smuggler, the counterfeiter of national bills and coins, the perpetrator of treason, the suitor of one state claiming dues of the citizens of another,—have none of these, and ten thousand others, expressly provided for in the Constitution, no relation to the general government except through the state?

It is very true that the preamble of the Constitution reads: "We, the people of the United States ordain and establish," and it is also true that they voted the Constitution by states. All the more proper was it

that the legislatures had never been appointed to surrender, but only to administer, the State Rights. These rights, in fact, could only be conclusively and absolutely surrendered, just as in fact they were, by the people's vote. It is also true, as Mr. Calhoun so pertinaciously insists, that the surrendering party will naturally expect to be judges themselves of what they have surrendered. And so too, will the party receiving the surrender. And then whose judgment will be strongest in effect, and uppermost in prerogative, that of a little, turbulent, uneasy state faction, or that of a great nation having all its mighty concerns of benefit and blessing embarked in the general unity? It is very true that the great nation thus constituted may usurp to itself powers never granted, just as the small state may factiously deny or reclaim powers that have been granted. And if it be hard upon the small state when it is oppressed in this manner by the nation, it might also be hard upon a much vaster scale, if the general order of the nation were compelled to submit itself to the bramble judgment of a factious little state and consent after all to be a nation only by sufferance. It must be enough for the states that exactly this kind of risk was submitted to by them, in their vote of surrender, and that no such eminent sovereignty could be created without a consent to the risk. The judgment of the stronger and superior party must prevail. Otherwise, if every state has a right to decide peremptorily on what she has surrendered, she has in fact surrendered nothing. In that

simple right asserted, goes down the whole mighty fabric so carefully built, and the sublime fathers and founders have their fool's errand revealed by the dis covery that the mere whim or conceit of a faction has even the right to shiver all their work in pieces!

But the root of Mr. Calhoun's famous state rights speculation was not, after all, in the Constitution, as he persistently claimed; it was deeper than he even knew himself; viz., in the fact that he had received, with such implicit trust, the spurious brood of false maxims that began early to be hatched by our new theories of liberty, and took them into his very life with such unquestioning facility, that, without being at all aware of it, he had not even the conception of government left. My words are carefully measured when I say this. I have made exploration of his writings, with this very point in view, and I do not anywhere find that he has the conception of a real government, or of anything higher than a league. Indeed he testifies, in fact, himself that he has not. Thus he writes: (Letter to Gov. Hamilton) "according to our theory, governments are in their nature trusts, and those appointed to administer them, [that is, the magistrates,] trustees, or agents, to execute trust powers. The sovereignty resides elsewhere, in the people, not in the government." What kind, now, of government is that which has no sovereignty in itself, and is under a sovereignty residing elsewhere? And then what kind of government there is in a mere trusteeship, where, as he continually insists, the trust may

at any time be revoked by the principal, as in common law, will be seen at a glance. And if any of us should imagine that he is speaking thus only of the general government, let it be observed, that he says, "governments" in the plural; showing that he has no conception of a government even in the states which is more than a trust, terminable at will, and having no real sovereignty!

Now in this wretched figure of statesmanship, you perceive that he only takes up what he conceives to be the accepted doctrine of the country, yielding himself to it with unquestioning trust; for he says, not "according to *my* theory," but "according to *our* theory." And he had a good right to that kind of reference. What have our orators and public men been saying and repeating for these many years, but what Mr. Jefferson began to say at the first,—that "government has no right but in the consent of the governed;" that "all the powers of magistracy are delegated powers;" that "the people are sovereign;" that "self-government is the inherent right of states;" that "the people are the spring of all authority;" that "the will of the people is the highest law;"—going on thus, without limit, in the ring of as many thousand changes, as our one miserably ambiguous and mischievously untrue maxim will permit! Even such a writer as Mr. Hamilton, wanting above all things a government, was so far taken, unwittingly, by this kind of chaff, as to say: "The fabric of American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of the consent

of the people. The streams of national power ought to flow immediately from that pure, original, fountain of all legitimate authority." (Federalist, XXII.) So generally prevalent, in short, and so unquestioningly received is this kind of maxim, that I run a considerable risk of parting company with this audience, if I do not explain what I mean by dissent from it.

I dissent from it then, because it affirms the possibility of making a real government over man by man; a government, that is, without ascending into the region of moral and religious ideas, or going at all above the mere wills of voters. As if any forty thousand, or forty million wills, taken as mere wills, could have any, the least right to command, or set obligation upon my will. According to our scheme of order under the Constitution, these forty millions of wills may, by their suffrage, choose the magistrates, and that, for us Americans, may be the best scheme possible, the ordinance even of God; but it does not follow that the binding authority of such magistrates is carried over into them by distillation, or transfer, out of the wills of the people. They only designate, by vote, the men who are to be magistrates, just as they are designated by birth in other countries; and their oath before God and God's ordinance in the Constitution make them more than simply designated men; viz., magistrates, with authority to bind.

Such is the general account to be made of our popular elective function as related to government, or to

magisterial right and authority. And all the thousand axioms we repeat, as our political confession, are in this way easily reduced to the small residuum of truth that belongs to them.

Thus, if we say with Mr. Calhoun, that "government is a trust," it is very true that the voters signify a trust in the men when they vote for them; and so does the woman signify a trust in the man, when she becomes his wife, but it does not follow that her act of trust makes him an agent and herself his principal, with a right to recall his trusteeship when she pleases. She passes over no husbandship by her trust; and as little does the voter pass over a magistracy; neither one nor the other has any such functional right to pass. To reason with Mr. Calhoun that wherever there is a trust, that is, a confidence exercised, there is of course a legal trusteeship, is only to play with words without distinguishing their meaning. Even God himself would, in this manner, be only our trustee and we his principals.

So of "the sovereignty of the people," of which we hear so often. In our scheme of order, the people are certainly arbiters in the matter of election or designation. And so, if the magistrates were designated by lot, a lottery wheel or wheel of fortune might be; but shall we all begin therefore to say that the sovereignty is in the wheel, assuming it too for a universal axiom that wheels are inherently sovereign in states? If we only mean by the sovereignty of the people, that, in our particular scheme, nobody gets

into place save by the popular vote, that is very well; a grand distinction of our system, and a sheet anchor of security for our liberties. Still the magistrate is sovereign over the people, not they over him, having even a divine right to bind their conscience by his rule.

In the same way, we are to interpret all we have to say of "self-government," or "the right of self-government." "By nature," says Mr. Calhoun, following after Mr. Jefferson, "every individual has a right to govern himself," deducing then all true right in government from the right of self-government in the individual. He does not see that the word he plays upon changes meaning, that, by self-government in a person, we mean simply self-keeping, or self-restraining, and suppose no such thing as command or authority at all, unless it be in God, whose all-governing law we are simply restraining ourselves to keep. Our particular people do, indeed, choose their magistrates, and then, not governing the magistrates, the magistrates govern them. Just so near they come to self-government as—not to touch it.

We deceive ourselves again by a like imposture of language, when we say: "that magistrates have only delegated powers." Doubtless they are in by election, but there is no passing over of powers in the vote. Not one of the supposed powers was ever in the persons of the voters, or by any possibility could be. They are all from the Constitution, the sanction of God's Head Magistracy going with it.

You perceive, in this manner, how we have been taking down all magistracy from the first by trying to get up authority from below, that is, out of man himself. Our very axioms go for the destruction of magistracy; ignoring always the fact so grandly and even philosophically put by an apostle, when he says: "there is no power but of God." There was never a finer way of government for a people than God has given us, and the special grounds of personal security we have in our equal suffrage, and the choosing of our own magistrates, are the admirable distinctions we may fitly value and cherish. Still the whole shaping of the fabric is Providential. God, God is in it, everywhere. He is Founder before the founders, training both them and us, and building in the Constitution before it is produced without. Our whole civil order is the ordinance of God saturated all through with flavors of historic religion, sanctioned every way by the sanction, and sanctified by the indwelling concourse of God. This it is that crowns the summit of our magistracies, and is going to give us finally the most sacredly binding, most indissoluble government in the world.

But as yet we have not come to this. For a long time we have been trying, as it were, to shake off Providence and law together, and we have so far succeeded that even the conception of government was beginning to be a lost conception. Perhaps these nostrums of atheistic philosophy must needs reveal what is in them before they can be duly corrected.

The conceit must be taken out of us, enough to stop us in asserting, for axioms, doctrines that impugn the right of all governments in the world beside; recoiling by a most fit retribution, that takes away even the idea of government as for ourselves. Be this as it may, we have, at last, come to the point where only blood, much blood, long years of bleeding, can resanctify what we have so loosely held and so badly desecrated. To what else could we be descending, for these generations past, when winnowing out, as we have been doing, all the sacred properties and principles of the great fabric God had constructed, and reducing it to a mere budget of "sovereignties," "consents," "trusts," "delegations of power," contrived "balances," and other as feeble pretences of philosophy. And yet we have not got on with our desecrations as fast, and come to the crisis of disruption as soon, as might have been expected. Mr. Calhoun wrote secession, but did not live to see it. Strange to say, it did not come half soon enough to meet the flash expectation of Mr. Jefferson himself. With a lightness quite unworthy of a great statesman, he says: "The late rebellion in Massachusetts, 'the Shay rebellion,' has given more alarm than I think it should have done. Calculate that one rebellion in thirteen states in the course of eleven years, is but one for each state in a century and a half. No country should be so long without a revolution." (Vol. II., p. 331.) And taking his French principles of government no one ever would be; it would have a revolution every year.

Be that as it may, the fearful time has finally come. By the unwisdoms put upon it in the name of philosophy, and the state-right speculation that much admired philosophy has nourished, our noble fabric has been fatally weakened, and is now for the present only a possibility, or government in abeyance. And so the great third crisis of which I am to speak is upon us.

Let us see then, how we are now going to complete and establish the state of government. To get these false axioms qualified, or expelled, so as to let in the rule of government, and make it solid in the people's heart for ages to come, saving all that is genuine, all that is free, is a truly difficult matter; but it will now be done. Let it be our thanksgiving to-day, that we can distinguish the manner and be certified of the result.

In the first place, what are we doing but exactly this,—fighting out the most pestilent heresy of the nation, that which, under the plausible name of "state rights," has taken away every semblance of right in the government; that which revokes every function of law without so much as a pretext of grievance? We are saying continually that slavery is the cause of the rebellion, and it is true; but slavery could never have drawn out a pin of the public order, if every pin had not been first loosened by the false maxims repeated, every bond of unity and dignity shivered by the pretentious usurpations of the state rights arguments and cabals. What now are we doing? Marching down these arguments, pounding them down with artillery,

never to stop marching, or stop pounding, till they are trampled so low and ground so fine that no search can find them. Our issue is made up, we are going to have a government,—no more by sufferance, but a government.

We are going also to vindicate the supremacy of the law, just where it broke down. We chose a President not liked in certain quarters. Without one pretended injury from him, whole states rebelled. Now we have chosen him again, and the issue is made up, not upon some other, but upon him. They shall come back thus and submit themselves to him at the very point of their outbreak, and the sacred right of election shall be vindicated. So that as he stole into Washington to assume his office, the leaders of rebellion may steal out of the land, if they can, to bemoan as exiles the ignominy of their treason, and die with the stamp of God's visible frown upon their awful crime.

In the terrible contest waged, the government meantime is girding itself up in decision, and wrestling like a giant with every sort of foe; with conspiracies, treacheries, factions secret, agitations public, midnight arsons, foemen in the bush, armies in the field. The grapple of law is upon us, and we see that government, after all, is somewhat of a reality even with us. We thought we could do as we pleased, and were all sovereigns. We saw velvet gloves on all magistracy. Poor Mr. Buchanan did not know any thing he could do to coerce a state! We wake up now in the discov-

cry that our government has, after all, some thunder in it. That thunder too, is going to roll its reverberations down through all our future history, and what we now feel is going to be felt, a hundred fold more deeply, long ages hence, that we have the strongest, firmest government in the world.

Again, it is a vast and mighty schooling of authority that we have in our armies. Nothing goes by consent, or trust, or individual sovereignty here. The power is not delegated here and liable to be recalled. Authority here lifts every foot by the drum-beat; defies all weather, and water, and mud, and swamp; forbids even hunger and sleep; and squaring the massed legions, hurls them in the face of gunpowder and over the flaming edges of defence. This it was, this military drill, so exact and sharp and systematic, that made the Romans, always at war, the great law nation of the earth. This is the kind of lesson we are taking by the million now, and the result will be a great moral intoning of our allegiance, such as we could never have had from any other discipline. Why, that single flag of ours means even more to us now than the Constitution of the United States did four years ago. And the man who should set himself to get one stripe or star out of it would fare as Mr. Calhoun did not, in that life-long public advocacy by which he dismembered the Union itself.

Slavery again, we are dealing death blows upon that. I say not how it shall go, but go it must; nay, it is already broken to the fall, if we touch it by no civil

action whatever. No human power under heaven can put it on its feet again and make it stand. What too, are we all beginning to say, but to add our hearty Amen to its final departure? There was never a funeral where the mourners were so many and so happy. We breathe more freely, as soon as we begin to think that human slavery is gone. We are clear thus of that miserable hypocrisy to our own first principles, that has so long shamed our feeling and made our very government seem hollow. We touch bottom now in moral ideas, and do not skim the surface any longer in lying platitudes that we do not ourselves respect. The demoralizations are all stopped, and we feel it in us to be true for liberty and right, true for the law, and the good, great government our God has given us.

Meantime, what are we doing so constantly, and in so many ways, to invoke the sanctions of God and religion? We are not wanting, any of us, to get our affairs away from God as we used to be. We associate God and religion with all that we are fighting for, and we are not satisfied with any mere human atheistic way of speaking as to means, or measures, or battles, or victories, or great deeds to win them. Our cause, we love to think, is especially God's, and so we are connecting all most sacred impressions with our government itself, weaving in a woof of holy feeling among all the fibres of our constitutional polity and government. We think much of the righteous men who have gone before us, and of their prayers descending

upon us, and the sacred charges they have committed to us. There is an immense praying too by day and by night in all parts of the country; wives, mothers, children, fathers, brothers, praying for the dear ones they have sent to the field, for the commanders, for the cause; soldiers fighting and praying together, and many of them learning even in the field to pray and catch heroic fire from God. Oh! it is religion, it is God! Every drum-beat is a hymn, the cannon thunder God, the electric silence, darting victory along the wires, is the inaudible greeting of God's favoring word and purpose.

And, lest we should forget the religious mood of the time, what forbids that, if we go into the revision of the Constitution advocated by many, we take just pains to record our thanksgiving in it, by inserting in the preamble some fit recognition of God? Not that we are to think it a matter of consequence to compliment God by inserting there his name; not that we are to think of inscribing there some evangelic article of doctrine; it must be enough,—and so much ought to be done as a matter of philosophic conviction,—to cut off all our noxious theories of government by man, and make it the recorded sentiment of the nation that all true authority in law is of a moral nature, and stands in allegiance to God.

How certainly, again, last of all, do we consecrate or hallow any thing that we make sacrifices for! And what people of the world ever made such sacrifices of labor, and money, and life, as we have made for the

integrity of our institutions? How many of our choicest, noblest youth, have yielded up their lives in the field? How many commanders, who were taking their place with the world's great heroes, have fallen to be mourned by a sorrowing country? Blood, blood, rivers of blood, have bathed our hundred battle-fields and sprinkled the horns of our altars! Without this shedding of blood, how could the violated order be sanctified? And to see the maimed bodies, and the disfigured, once noble forms, and go into the desolate homes, and listen to the plaint of the mourning children,—Oh! it is a sacrifice how great that we are making! This is the price we are willing to pay for our country and its laws.

And what shall be the result? One only result can there be. Nothing can be so evident as that we are now in a way to have our free institutions crowned and consummated. A great problem it was to connect authority with so great freedom. The free maxims we began with and took with no qualification were continually demoralizing our conceptions. The government had but a feeble connection with moral ideas. Now it is to be the ordinance of God, and nothing is to have a finer sound of truth for the ages to come, I trust, than that famous opening of the 13th chapter of the epistle to the Romans: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God." And when we have come to this, there is no government on earth that compares for strength with ours. Nay it has about as nearly

proved itself already in that figure as it could be desired to do. We did not know how strong it was before. Nobody had any conception of the immense strain it could bear. How bright is the future now of such a government and nation! Hallowed by so many battle-fields, and these by the tribute of so many histories, and sung by so many songs of the great poets of the future, how dear, and sacred, and glorious will it be! And God be thanked it was our privilege to live in this great day of crisis, this always-to-be-called heroic age of the republic!

Let no one imagine that here we shall have reached the goal of our progress. Now that government has ceased to be itself a demoralizer, as it has hitherto been, we may look even for a new-begun growth in the moral and religious habit of the nation. What many have been fearing, with so great and even rational dread, a final collapse in public vice and anarchy, will be a destroying angel passed by. There will, instead, be a great and sublime progress in character begun. There will be less and less need of government, because the moral right of what we have is felt. And as what we do as right is always free, we shall grow more free as the centuries pass, till perhaps, even government itself may lapse in the freedom of a righteousness consummated in God.

X.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE DEAD.*

Brethren of the Alumni:—

To pay fit honors to our dead is one of the fraternal and customary offices of these anniversaries; never so nearly an office of high public duty as now, when we find the roll of our membership starred with so many names made sacred by the giving up of life for the Republic. We knew them here in terms of cherished intimacy; some of them so lately that we scarcely seem to have been parted from them; others of them we have met here many times, returning to renew, with us, their tender and pleasant recollections of the past; but we meet them here no more: they are gone to make up the hecatomb offered for their and our great nation's life. Hence it has been specially desired on this occasion, that we honor their heroic sacrifice by some fit remembrance. Had the call of your committee been different, I should certainly not have responded.

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* An oration given at the Commemorative Celebration held in New Haven, on Wednesday of Commencement Week, July 26, 1865, in honor of the Alumni of Yale College, who fell in the War of the Rebellion.

And yet, over-willing as I have been to assume an office so entirely grateful, it is a matter none the less difficult to settle on the best and most proper way of doing the honors intended. I think you will agree with me, that it cannot be satisfactorily done by preparing a string of obituary notices of our dead; that would be more appropriate to some published document, and no wise appropriate to a public discourse. Besides, to withdraw them from the vaster roll of the dead, in which it was their honor to die, and set them in a circle of mere literary clanship, bounding our testimony of homage by the accident of their matriculation here with us, would be rather to claim our honors in them, than to pay them honors due to themselves. We should seem not even to appreciate the grand public motive to which they gave up their life. They honored us in dying for their country, and we fitly honor them, when we class them with the glorious brotherhood in which they fell. Reserving it therefore as my privilege, to make such reference specially to them as befits the occasion, I propose a more general subject in which due honors may be paid to all, viz., *The obligations we owe to the dead*,—all the dead who have fallen in this gigantic and fearfully bloody war.

There are various ways in which a people, delivered by great struggles of war, may endeavor to pay their testimony of honor to the men who have fallen. They may do it by chanting requiems for the repose of their souls; which, though it may not have any great effect in that precise way, is at least an act of

implied homage and gratitude. The same thing is attempted more frequently by covering the dead benefactors and heroes with tributes of eulogy; only here it is a disappointment, that none but a few leaders are commemorated, while the undistinguished multitude, who jeoparded their lives most freely, are passed by and forgot. The best thing therefore to be done, worthiest both of the dead and the living, is, it seems to me, that which I now propose,—to recount our obligations to the dead in general; what they have done for us, what they have earned at our hands, and what they have put it on us to do for the dear common country to which they sold their life.

First of all then, we are to see that we give them their due share of the victory and the honors of victory. For it is one of our natural infirmities, against which we need to be carefully and even jealously guarded, that we fall so easily into the impression which puts them in the class of defeat and failure. Are they not dead? And who shall count the dead as being in the roll of victory? But the living return to greet us and be with us, and we listen eagerly to the story of the scenes in which they bore their part. We enjoy their exultations and exult with them. Their great leaders also return, to be crowned by our ovations, and deafened by our applauses. These, these, we too readily say, are the victors, considering no more the dead but with a certain feeling close akin to pity. If, sometime, the story

of their fall is told us, the spot described, for in front or on the rampart's edge, where they left their bodies with the fatal gashes at which their souls went out, we listen with sympathy and sad respect, but we do not find how to count them in the lists of victory, and scarcely to include them in the general victory of the cause. All our associations run this way, and before we know it we have them down, most likely, on the losing side of the struggle. They belong, we fancy, to the waste of victory,—sad waste indeed! but not in any sense a part of victory itself. No, no, ye living! It is the ammunition spent that gains the battle, not the ammunition brought off from the field. These dead are the spent ammunition of the war, and theirs above all is the victory. Upon what indeed turned the question of the war itself, but on the dead that could be furnished; or what is no wise different, the life that could be sacrificed for that kind of expenditure? These grim heroes therefore, dead and dumb, that have strowed so many fields with their bodies,—these are the price and purchase-money of our triumph. A great many of us were ready to live, but these offered themselves, in a sense, to die, and by their cost the victory is won.

Nay, it is not quite enough, if we will know exactly who is entitled to a part in these honors, that we only remember these dead of the war. Buried generations back of them were also present in it, almost as truly as they. Thus, if we take the two most honored leaders, Grant and Sherman, who, besides the general

victory they have gained for the cause, have won their sublime distinction as the greatest living commanders of the world, it will be impossible to think of them as having made or begotten their own lofty endowments. All great heroic men have seeds and roots, far back it may be, out of which they spring, and apart from which they could not spring at all; a sublime fatherhood and motherhood, in whose blood and life, however undistinguished, victory was long ago distilling for the great day to come of their people and nation. They knew it not; they sleep in graves, it may be, now forgot. But their huge-grown, manful temperament, the fights they waged and won in life's private battle, the lofty prayer-impulse which made inspirations their element, their brave self-retaining patience, and the orderly vigor of their household command were breeding in and in, to be issued finally in a hero sonship, and by that fight themselves out into the grandest victory for right and law the future ages shall know. So that if we ask who are the dead that are to be counted in our victory, we must pierce the sod of Wethersfield and Stratford, of Woodbury and Norwalk, and find where the Honorable Sherman, the Deacon Sherman, the Judge Sherman, and all the line of the Shermans and their victor wives and mothers lie; and then, if we can guess what they were and how they lived, we shall know who fought the great campaigns at Atlanta, Savannah and Raleigh. So again, if we begin at the good Deacon Grant in Mr. Warham's church at Windsor; descending to the

historic Matthew Grant of Tolland, fellow-scout with Putnam and captain of a French war company; then to the now living Joel Root Grant, who removed to Pennsylvania, afterwards also to Ohio, afterwards finally, I believe, to Illinois, whose wanderings appear to be commemorated in the classic name of Ulysses; we shall see by what tough flanking processes of life and family the great Lieutenant-General was preparing, who should turn the front of Vicksburg, and march by Lee and Richmond, and cut off, by the rear, even the Great Rebellion itself. O, if we could see it, how long and grandly were the victories of these great souls preparing! The chief thing was the making of the souls themselves, and when that was done the successes came of course.

And from these two examples you may see by what lines of private worth, and public virtue, and more than noble blood, the stock of our great patriotic armies has been furnished. For how grand a pitch of devotion has been often shown by the private soldiers of these armies! There was never embodied, in all the armies of the world, a public inspiration so remarkable. Really the grandest heroes are these, who have neither had, nor wanted, any motive but the salvation of the Republic. And do you think there was nothing back of them to make them what they were? What but an immense outgrowth were they of whole ages of worth, intelligence, and public devotion? And for what more honorable distinction should we here and always pay our thanks to God? O, it is these

generations of buried worth that have been fighting in our battles, and if we will pay our obligations to the dead, it is this nameless fatherhood and motherhood, before whose memory we shall bare our head in the deepest homage and tenderest reverence.

Still, it is not my intention to occupy you with the part fulfilled by these remoter generations of the past, but with the more general remembrance of such as have fallen in the war itself. I only refer you to these, to show you how very trivial and weak a thing it is, if we speak of our victories, to imagine that only such as come out of the war alive are entitled to credit and reverence on account of them.

But I pass to a point where the dead obtain a right of honor that is more distinctive, and belongs not to the living at all; or if in certain things partly to the living, yet only to them in some less sacred and prominent way. I speak here of the fact that, according to the true economy of the world, so many of its grandest and most noble benefits have and are to have a tragic origin, and to come as outgrowths only of blood. Whether it be that sin is in the world, and the whole creation groaneth in the necessary throes of its demonized life, we need not stay to inquire; for sin would be in the world and the demonizing spell would be upon it. Such was, and was to be, and is, the economy of it. Common life, the world's great life, is in the large way tragic. As the mild benignity and peaceful reign of Christ begins at the principle: "without

shedding of blood, there is no remission," so, without shedding of blood, there is almost nothing great in the world, or to be expected for it. For the life is in the blood,—all life; and it is put flowing within, partly for the serving of a nobler use in flowing out on fit occasion, to quicken and consecrate whatever it touches. God could not plan a Peace-Society world, to live in the sweet amenities, and grow great and happy by simply thriving and feeding. There must be bleeding also. Sentiments must be born that are children of thunder; there must be heroes and heroic nationalities, and martyr testimonies, else there will be only mediocrities, insipidities, common-place men, and common-place writings,—a sordid and mean peace, liberties without a pulse, and epics that are only eclogues.

And here it is that the dead of our war have done for us a work so precious, which is all their own,—they have bled for us; and by this simple sacrifice of blood they have opened for us a new great chapter of life. We were living before in trade and commerce, bragging of our new cities and our census reports, and our liberties that were also consciously mocked by our hypocrisies; having only the possibilities of great inspirations and not the fact, materialized more and more evidently in our habits and sentiments, strong principally in our discords and the impetuosity of our projects for money. But the blood of our dead has touched our souls with thoughts more serious and deeper, and begotten, as I trust, somewhat of that high-bred inspiration which is itself the possibility of

genius, and of a true public greatness. Saying nothing then for the present of our victors and victories, let us see what we have gotten by the blood of our slain.

And first of all, in this blood our unity is cemented and forever sanctified. Something was gained for us here, at the beginning, by our sacrifices in the fields of our Revolution,—something, but not all. Had it not been for this common bleeding of the States in their common cause, it is doubtful whether our Constitution could ever have been carried. The discords of the Convention were imminent, as we know, and were only surmounted by compromises that left them still existing. They were simply kenneled under the Constitution and not reconciled, as began to be evident shortly in the doctrines of state sovereignty, and state nullification, here and there asserted. We had not bled enough, as yet, to merge our colonial distinctions and make us a proper nation. Our battles had not been upon a scale to thoroughly mass our feeling, or gulf us in a common cause and life. Against the state-rights doctrines, the logic of our Constitution was decisive, and they were refuted a thousand times over. But such things do not go by argument. No argument transmutes a discord, or composes a unity where there was none. The matter wanted here was blood, not logic, and this we now have on a scale large enough to meet our necessity. True it is blood on one side, and blood on the other,—

all the better for that; for bad bleeding kills, and righteous bleeding sanctifies and quickens. The state-rights doctrine is now fairly bled away, and the unity died for, in a way of such prodigious devotion, is forever sealed and glorified.

Nor let any one be concerned for the sectional relations of defeat and victory. For there has all the while been a grand, suppressed sentiment of country in the general field of the rebellion, which is bursting up already into sovereignty out of the soil itself. There is even a chance that this sentiment may blaze into a passion hot enough to utterly burn up whatever fire itself can master. At all events it will put under the ban, from this time forth, all such instigators of treason as could turn their peaceful States into hells of desolation, and force even patriotic citizens to fight against the homage they bore their country. However this may be, the seeds of a true public life are in the soil, waiting to grow apace. It will be as when the flood of Noah receded. For the righteous man perchance began to bethink himself shortly, and to be troubled, that he took no seeds into the ark; but no sooner were the waters down, than the oaks and palms and all great trees sprung into life, under the dead old trunks of the forest, and the green world reappeared even greener than before; only the sections had all received new seeds, by a floating exchange, and put them forthwith into growth together with their own. So the unity now to be developed, after this war-deluge is over, is even like to be more cordial

than it ever could have been. It will be no more thought of as a mere human compact, or composition, always to be debated by the letter, but it will be that bond of common life which God has touched with blood; a sacredly heroic, Providentially tragic unity, where God's cherubim stand guard over grudges and hates and remembered jealousies, and the sense of nationality becomes even a kind of religion. How many would have said that the Saxon Heptarchy, tormented by so many intrigues and feuds of war, could never be a nation! But their formal combination under Egbert, followed by their wars against the Danes under Alfred, set them in a solid, sanctified unity, and made them, as a people, one true England, instead of the seven Englands that were; which seven were never again to be more than historically remembered. And so, bleeding on together from that time to this in all sorts of wars; wars civil and wars abroad, drenching the land and coloring the sea with their blood; gaining all sorts of victories and suffering all kinds of defeats; their parties and intestine strifes are no more able now to so much as raise a thought that is not in allegiance to their country. In like manner,—let no one doubt of it,—these United States, having dissolved the intractable matter of so many infallible theories and bones of contention in the dreadful menstruum of their blood, are to settle into fixed unity, and finally into a nearly homogeneous life.

Passing to another point of view, we owe it to our dead in this terrible war, that they have given us the possibility of a great consciousness and great public sentiments. There must needs be something lofty in a people's action, and above all something heroic in their sacrifices for a cause, to sustain a great sentiment in them. They will try, in the smooth days of peace and golden thriftiness and wide-spreading growth, to have it, and perhaps will think they really have it, but they will only have semblances and counterfeits; patriotic professions that are showy and thin, swells and protestations that are only oratorical and have no true fire. All the worse if they have interests and institutions that are all the while mocking their principles; breeding factions that can be quieted only by connivances and compromises and political bargains, that sell out their muniments of right and nationality. Then you shall see all high devotion going down as by a law, till nothing is left but the dastard picture of a spent magistracy that, when every thing is falling into wreck, can only whimper that it sees not any thing it can do! Great sentiments go when they are not dismissed, and will not come when they are sent for. We cannot keep them by much talk, nor have them because we have heard of them and seen them in a classic halo. A lofty public consciousness arises only when things are loftily and nobly done. It is only when we are rallied by a cause, in that cause receive a great inspiration, in that inspiration give our bodies to the death, that

at last, out of many such heroes dead, comes the possibility of great thoughts, fired by sacrifice, and a true public magnanimity.

In this view, we are not the same people that we were, and never can be again. Our young scholars, that before could only find the forms of great feeling in their classic studies, now catch the fire of it unsought. Emulous before of saying fine things for their country, they now choke for the impossibilty of saying what they truly feel. The pitch of their life is raised. The tragic blood of the war is a kind of new capacity for them. They perceive what it is to have a country and a public devotion. Great aims are close at hand, and in such aims a finer type of manners. And what shall follow, but that, in their more invigorated, nobler life, they are seen hereafter to be manlier in thought and scholarship, and closer to genius in action.

I must also speak of the new great history sanctified by this war, and the blood of its fearfully bloody sacrifices. So much worth and character were never sacrificed in a human war before. And by this mournful offering, we have bought a really stupendous chapter of history. We had a little very beautiful history before, which we were beginning to cherish and fondly cultivate. But we had not enough of it to beget a full historic consciousness. As was just now intimated in a different way, no people ever become vigorously conscious, till they mightily do,

and heroically suffer. The historic sense is close akin to tragedy. We say it accusingly often,—and foolishly,—that history cannot live on peace, but must feed itself on blood. The reason is that, without the blood, there is really nothing great enough in motive and action, taking the world as it is, to create a great people or story. If a gospel can be executed only in blood, if there is no power of salvation strong enough to carry the world's feeling which is not gained by dying for it, how shall a selfish race get far enough above itself, to be kindled by the story of its action in the dull routine of its common arts of peace? Doubtless it should be otherwise, even as goodness should be universal; but so it never has been, and upon the present footing of evil never can be. The great cause must be great as in the clashing of evil; and heroic inspirations, and the bleeding of heroic worth must be the zest of the story. Nations can sufficiently live only as they find how to energetically die. In this view, some of us have felt, for a long time, the want of a more historic life, to make us a truly great people. This want is now supplied; for now, at last, we may be said to have gotten a history. The story of this four years' war is the grandest chapter, I think, of heroic fact, and tragic devotion, and spontaneous public sacrifice, that has ever been made in our world. The great epic story of Troy is but a song in comparison. There was never a better, and never so great a cause; order against faction, law against conspiracy, liberty and right against the mad-

ness and defiant wrong of slavery, the unity and sal vation of the greatest future nationality and freest government of the world, a perpetual state of war to be averted, and the preservation for mankind of an example of popular government and free society that is a token of promise for true manhood, and an omen of death to old abuse and prescriptive wrong the world over; this has been our cause, and it is something to say that we have borne ourselves worthily in it. Our noblest and best sons have given their life to it. We have dotted whole regions with battle-fields. We have stained how many rivers, and bays, and how many hundred leagues of railroad, with our blood! We have suffered appalling defeats; twice at Bull Run, at Wilson's Creek, in the great campaign of the Peninsula, at Cedar Mountain, at Fredericksburg, at Chancellorsville, at Chickamauga, and upon the Red River, leaving our acres of dead on all these fields and many others less conspicuous; yet, abating no jot of courage and returning with resolve unbroken, we have converted these defeats into only more impressive victories. In this manner too, with a better fortune nobly earned, we have hallowed, as names of glory and high victory, Pea Ridge, Donelson, Shiloh, Hilton Head, New Orleans, Vicksburg, Port Hudson, Stone River, Lookout Mountain, Resaca, Atlanta, Fort Fisher, Gettysburg, Nashville, Wilmington, Petersburg and Richmond, Bentonville, Mobile Bay, and, last of all, the forts of Mobile city. All these and a hundred others are now become, and in all

future time are to be, names grandly historic. And to have them is to be how great a gift for the ages to come! By how many of the future children of the Republic will these spots be visited, and how many will return from their pilgrimages thither, blest in remembrances of the dead, to whom they owe their country!

Among the fallen too we have names that will glow with unfading lustre on whatever page they are written; our own brave Lyon, baptizing the cause in the blood of his early death; our Sedgwick, never found wanting at any point of command, equal in fact to the very highest command, and only too modest to receive it when offered; the grandly gifted young McPherson, who had already fought himself into the first rank of leadership, and was generally counted the peerless hope and prodigy of the armies; Reynolds also, and Kearney, and Rice, and Birney; and how many brilliant stars, or even constellations of stars, in the lower degrees of command, such as Rice, and Lowell, and Vincent, and Shaw, and Stedman, and a hundred others in like honor, for the heroic merit of their leadership and death! And yet, when I drop all particular names, dear as they may be, counting them only the smoke and not the fire, letting the unknown trains of dead heroes pack and mass and ascend, to shine, as by host, in the glorious Milky Way of their multitude,—men that left their business and all the dearest ties of home and family to fight their country's righteous war, and fought on till they fell,—then for

the first time do I seem to feel the tide-swing of a great historic consciousness. God forbid that any prudishness of modesty should here detain us. Let us fear no more to say that we have won a history and the right to be a consciously historic people. Henceforth our new world even heads the old, having in this single chapter risen clean above it. The wars of Cæsar, and Frederic, and Napoleon, were grand enough in their leadership, but there is no grand people or popular greatness in them, consequently no true dignity. In this war of ours it is the people, moving by their own decisive motion, in the sense of their own great cause. For this cause we have volunteered by the million, and in three thousand millions of money, and by the resolute bleeding of our men and the equally resolute bleeding of our self-taxation, we have bought and sanctified consentingly all these fields, all that is grand in this thoroughly principled history.

Again, it is not a new age of history only that we owe to the bloody sacrifices of this war, but in much the same manner the confidence of a new literary age; a benefit that we are specially called, in such a place as this, and on such an occasion, to remember and fitly acknowledge. Great public throes are, mentally speaking, changes of base for some new thought-campaign in a people. Hence the brilliant new literature of the age of Queen Elizabeth; then of another golden era under Anne; and then still again, as in the arrival

of another birth-time, after the Napoleonic wars of George the Fourth. The same thing has been noted, I believe, in respect to the wars of Greece and Germany. Only it is in such wars as raise the public sense and majesty of a people that the result is seen to follow. For it is the high-souled feeling raised that quickens high-souled thought, and puts the life of genius in the glow of new-born liberty. This we are now to expect, for the special reason also that we have here, for the first time, conquered a position. Thus it will be seen that no great writer becomes himself, in his full power, till he has gotten the sense of position. Much more true is this of a people. And here has been our weakness until now. We have held the place of cliency, we have taken our models and laws of criticism, and to a great extent our opinions, from the English motherhood of our language and mind. Under that kind of pupilage we live no longer; we are thoroughly weaned from it, and become a people in no secondary right. Henceforth we are not going to write English, but American. As we have gotten our position, we are now to have our own civilization, think our own thoughts, rhyme in our own measures, kindle our own fires, and make our own canons of criticism, even as we settle the proprieties of punishment for our own traitors. We are not henceforth to live as by cotton and corn and trade, keeping the downward slope of thrifty mediocrity. Our young men are not going out of college, staled, in the name of discipline, by their carefully conned lessons, to be launched on

the voyage of life as ships without wind, but they are to have great sentiments, and mighty impulsions, and souls alive all through in fires of high devotion.

We have gotten also now the historic matter of a true oratoric inspiration, and the great orators are coming after. In the place of politicians we are going to have, at least, some statesmen; for we have gotten the pitch of a grand, new, Abrahamic statesmanship, unsophisticated, honest and real; no cringing sycophancy, or cunning art of demagogy. We have also facts, adventures, characters enough now in store, to feed five hundred years of fiction. We have also plots, and lies, and honorable perjuries, false heroics, barbaric murders and assassinations, conspiracies of fire and poison,—enough of them, and wicked enough, to furnish the Satanic side of tragedy for long ages to come; coupled also with such grandeurs of public valor and principle, such beauty of heroic sacrifice, in womanhood and boyhood, as tragedy has scarcely yet been able to find. As to poetry, our battle-fields are henceforth names poetic, and our very soil is touched with a mighty poetic life. In the rustle of our winds, what shall the waking soul of our poets think of, but of brave souls riding by? In our thunders they may hear the shocks of charges, and the red of the sunset shall take a tinge in their feeling from the summits where our heroes fell. A new sense comes upon every thing, and the higher soul of mind, quickened by new possibilities, finds inspirations where before it found only rocks, and ploughlands, and much timber for the

saw. Are there no great singers to rise in this new time? Are there no unwonted fires to be kindled in imaginations fanned by these new glows of devotion? We seem, as it were in a day, to be set in loftier ranges of thought, by this huge flood-tide that has lifted our nationality, gifted with new sentiments and finer possibilities, commissioned to create, and write, and sing, and, in the sense of a more poetic feeling at least, to be all poets.

Considering now these higher possibilities of literature, who shall say how much our one hundred fallen brothers have done for us in taking the field to die for their country? The literary talent of some of them was in the highest grade of promise, yet even these may have done more for us by their death than they could have done by their life. As the scholarly and piquant Winthrop became an author of renown only after his death on the field of Big Bethel, so, in a little different sense, may it be true of them all. They reverse, how touchingly, the fable of Antæus. Instead of receiving from the earth, when they touch it, a giant strength, they give to the earth, as it takes in their blood, a new inspiration for all brothers in learning for long ages to come; and so, for as long a time, they will write, and speak, and sing in myriads of great souls coming after. Perhaps we should not think of educating men to be used in dying, yet the dying nobly and with power is one of the most fruitful and dearest uses to which any of us come. Would that all our youth could see it! Young Carrington, for ex-

ample, had just come to the flower of his graduation, and the loss of so great promise, before the time of fruit, seems to be total. Far from that as possible! How many of his comrades have been impressed, even as they do not know themselves, by the sacred beauty of his early sacrifice; how many been impregnated in their own flowering, with those best and highest sentiments that never set their fruit after men are past their flower! I know not what the ingenious and versatile Blake might have written, or how or when the lines of humor he took so nicely by his eye, and sketched so adroitly by the off-hand cunning of his pencil, might have flashed into words and brilliant authorship; but the noble successes and honors of his soldier life, too soon cut short in the fatal fight of Cedar Mountain, have turned his key of humor, how affectingly; showing us in what close company a high soul often joins the heroic impulse with exuberant play.

Great action is the highest kind of writing, and he that makes a noble character writes the finest kind of book. To invent is one thing, to become is another, and vastly higher. Young Rice, for example, who begins a private and ends a brigadier, rushed up the steep of promotion by the general acclaim of his superiors,—I know not what he might have written; enough to know what he was. Nothing makes so grand a figure, whether in fact or fiction, as a character of high adventure coupled with high principle; and this he began to show before he became a soldier.

Thus, being in great trouble after his graduation for the debt incurred in his studies, he dared exactly what few young men could, and what still fewer could with success: he put himself boldly before a gentleman of wealth to whom he was a perfect stranger, craving the loan of $500, engaging to repay it within a year, from an expected income in teaching; and so well did he manage himself and his story that he was successful. The mere personal interest he excited won the cause for him, and with only a faint glimmer of expectation that the money would ever be seen again, it was cheerfully put in his hands. But before the appointed year is out, behold he appears with his fund of payment ready! Does any one require to be told that such a man will fight, or that he will do it well and faithfully? Passing through six great battles and shining in them all, he fell on the banks of the Po, and was carried to the field hospital to die. In the death struggle which shortly followed, he asked to be turned on his side. "Which way shall we turn you?" "Turn my face to the enemy," he replied, gaspingly; and in these six words the book God gave him to write was finished. It was a book all action, and he might never have written any other. It was a battle fought out to the end, in the "front face" manner of a soldier; but it was none the less a poem, a tragedy, a character fascinatingly drawn. If it had been something to compose it, as by literary art, how much more to be it, with no art at all! No, my brothers, we will not bewail these dead of ours to-day as being lost to

the cause of letters ; for the inspirations and the grand realities of letters they have given up their lives to supply, as truly as to save their country.

I might also speak at large, if I had time, of the immense benefit these dead have conferred upon our free institutions themselves, by the consecrating blood of their sacrifice. But I can only say that having taken the sword to be God's ministers, and to vindicate the law as his ordinance, they have done it even the more effectively in that they have died for it. It has been a wretched fault of our people that we have so nearly ignored the moral foundations of our government. Regarding it as a merely human creation, we have held it only by the tenure of convenience. Hence came the secession. For what we create by our will, may we not dissolve by the same? Bitter has been the cost of our pitifully weak philosophy. In these rivers of blood we have now bathed our institutions, and they are henceforth to be hallowed in our sight. Government is now become Providential,—no more a mere creature of our human will, but a grandly moral affair. The awful stains of sacrifice are upon it, as upon the fields where our dead battled for it, and it is sacred for their sakes. The stamp of God's sovereignty is also upon it; for he has beheld their blood upon its gate-posts and made it the sign of his passover. Henceforth we are not to be manufacturing government, and defying in turn its sovereignty because we have made it ourselves; but we are to

revere its sacred rights, rest in its sacred immunities, and have it even as the Cæsar whom our Christ himself requires us to obey. Have we not also proved, written it down for all the ages to come, that the most horrible, God-defying crime of this world is unnecessary rebellion?

I might also speak of the immense contribution made for religion, by the sacrifices of these bleeding years. Religion, at the first, gave impulse, and, by a sublime recompense of reäction, it will also receive impulse. What then shall we look for but for a new era now to break forth, a day of new gifts and powers and holy endowments from on high, wherein great communities and friendly nations shall be girded in sacrifice, for the cause of Christ their Master?

But these illustrations must not be continued farther. Such are some of the benefits we are put in obligations for by the dead in this great war. And now it remains to ask, by what fitting tribute these obligations are to be paid? And it signifies little, first of all, to say: Let the widows of these dead be widows, and their children, children of the Republic. Let them also be the private care of us all. Let the childless families adopt these fatherless. Give the sons and daughters growing up the necessary education: open to them ways of industry; set them in opportunities of advancement. Let our whole people resolve themselves into a grand Sanitary Commission, for these after-blows of suffering and loss occasioned by the war.

Again, it is another of the sacred obligations we owe to the dead, that we sanctify their good name. Nothing can be more annoying to the sense of honor, than the mischievous facility of some, in letting down the merit and repute of the fallen by the flippant recollection of their faults, or, it may be, of their former vices. Who have earned immunity from this petty kind of criticism, if not they who have died for their country? How great a thing has it been for many in this war, to spring into consciously new life, in the ennobling discovery that they could have a great feeling! And what, in the plane of mere nature, will so transform a man, as to be caught by the heroic impulse, and begin to have the sense of a cause upon him? Indeed I am not sure that some specially heroic natures do not flag and go down under evil, just because the storm they were made for has not begun to blow. Some such were greater souls perhaps than we thought, and if they were not perfectly great, who but some low ingrate would now dim their halo by a word? And what if it should happen, that even a Congressional Committee may so far turn themselves into a committee of scandal, as to assail with unrighteous facility the military merit of the dead? If the dead cannot answer, what shall we do but answer for the dead?

A great work also is due from us to the dead, and quite as much for our own sakes as theirs, in the due memorizing of their names and acts. Let the nation's grand war monument be raised in massive granite,

piercing the sky. Let every State, honored by such names as Sedgwick, and Lyon, and Mansfield, claim the right to their honors for the future ages, by raising, on some highest mountain top, or in some park of ornament, the conspicuous shaft or pillar, that will fitly represent the majesty of the men. The towns and villages will but honor themselves, when they set up their humbler monuments inscribed with the names of the fallen. Let the churches also, and the college halls and chapels, show their mural tablets, where both worship and learning may be quickened by the remembrance of heroic deeds and deaths. In this way, or some other, every name of our fallen Alumni should be conspicuously recorded in the College, that our sons coming hither may learn, first of all, that our mother gives her best to die for their country.

There should also be given to the public a carefully prepared volume, containing distinct notices and recollections of all our Alumni who have fallen in the war, and have held a figure sufficiently public to be distinctly commemorated. There are many such names that I should like to present for your particular remembrance on this occasion; such as Hebard, and Butler, and Hannahs, and Roberts, and Porter, and Patton, and others who have won distinction with them. I have already named a few examples from the general list in another connection. Excuse me if I briefly commemorate two others; viz., Captain William Wheeler and Major Henry W. Camp; doing

it partly for my own satisfaction, because I had a particular personal interest in them.

Young Wheeler's enlistment in an independent battery put him completely out of the line of promotion; and yet it must have come, in some way extraordinary, shortly; indeed, I learn that it was just about to come, by a stride that would have set him in a high position. No Captain of the war was more efficient or more perfectly master of his place; none more thoroughly idolized in the love and pride of his command. Sober, and cool, and clear-headed, and perfectly a man in every highest quality of energy and correct principle and unfearing devotion to his cause, he was already grandly promoted in the judgment of all who knew him. Ordered in a severe fight to shift his battery to another position, he sent it promptly with his men, and having a piece too much disabled to be moved, he could not leave it, but letting go his horse took hold with a sergeant, and they two, loading and firing in a battle of their own, leveled their aim with such precision, while the enemy's grape were spattering on the gun, that they drove back the advancing column and saved the piece. How they lived a moment in such a storm nobody could guess; but alas! the sharpshooter's single bullet took him afterwards, at a post of honor given him and his little command to be maintained by them alone, and there his brave, noble chapter of life was ended.

Major Camp I had known from his childhood, onward, and had watched him with a continually

growing expectation to the last. His wondrously fine person was a faithful type of his whole character and power. His modesty and courage never parted company. His almost over-delicate conscience was fitly fortified by a strong, unsubduable will. He had no flash qualities, but was always unfolding in full round harmony with himself. As a man he scarcely dared to think himself a Christian; as a Christian he was never any the less perfectly a man. My impression of him is that I have never known so much of worth, and beauty, and truth, and massive majesty; so much, in a word, of all kinds of promise, embodied in any young person. Whatever he might undertake, whether to be a poet, or a philosopher, or a statesman, or a preacher, or a military commander, or indeed an athlete, he seemed to have every quality on hand necessary to success. And this I think is the impression of him that every reader of his noble story will have received. When he fights a college boat race at Worcester, or the sea at Hatteras Inlet, or the enemy at Newbern, or the dreary rigors of a prison, or the impossible rigors of an escape, it makes little difference whether he is successful or not; everybody sees that he ought to be. Finally paroled and released, after many long months of confinement, he returns home on a short furlough; but hearing, only five days after, that he has been exchanged, he tears himself away from furlough and friends, and is off in two hours time for his regiment. And he joins them on the field of battle, welcomed by the acclamations of

the men and the hearty cheers of the command. Though he has a nature gentle as a woman's, he is yet called the Iron Man; and the iron property was abundantly shown again and again, wherever that kind of metal was wanted. His regiment, always relied on, is finally brought up in two lines to head an assault, and he is purposely set on the wing of the second line, that he may not be thrown away. Believing that the assault must be an utter failure, for that was the opinion of all, he still modestly suggested that he might be put upon the forward line! And there he fell riddled with bullets, only not to see the general massacre of the men. O, it was a dark, sad day that cost the loss of such a man!

> "For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,
> Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer."

Little does it signify to him, though much to us, that his memory should be sanctified by some enduring record.

And yet, speaking thus of particular names and leaders to be commemorated, it is impossible not to be troubled by a certain feeling of absurdity, that our honors cannot be graded, after all, by any scale of justice. Multitudes of the bravest are nameless; or if we find their names, we know not whose they are, or where or how they fell. I certainly would not diminish the glory of the great commanders, whether dead or living. Commanders are the brain of all movement and the soul of all great confidence, gath-

ering up in their person whole divisions and armies and hurling them forward upon victory. And yet how much does it signify that they have men to inspire and lead who can dare to be men, and fight in the sense of a cause! And if we speak of courage to die, how many thousands who were only privates, and are now without a name, have faced, each one, more perils, pitched themselves into more cannons' mouths and more bayonetted columns, than all the Major-Generals of the armies!

Ten color-bearers, for example, seize the fatal staff, one after another, and the last finally plants it on the edge of the parapet to be gained! Regiments that are sworn to never falter, pushed into the assault again and again because they can be relied on, bearing off their dead each time till they are reduced to a handful, yet ready to halve that handful, if they must, in heading an assault that every man of them knows to be senseless,—this I call great soldiership! Make due note too of those thousands of prisoners, shut up in the pen of their captivity, without officers, decimated every month and almost every day by starvation, yet voting, to a man, that they will never yield their allegiance to even that cogent argument! Or go through the wards of any crowded hospital, where the men are dying every hour, and catch the messages they send to wife, or child, or sweetheart: "Say that I am gone; and that, never having once regretted my enlistment, I willingly die for my country." Who of you does not ache with me for the impossibility of

doing justice to these glorious obscure, these private heroes of the war? What ghostly troops of them had our good father and martyr President sent on before him, from all his fields of battle! And as our Abraham's bosom was never shut to such on earth, much more tenderly open will it be now! How paternally has he greeted them! How eagerly caught the sublime story of their soldiership! And if he could return again to his office, it would not be strange if he should send in a new batch of Major-Generals to be passed, whom the Senate never before heard of! Really this wonderful massing of private worth and public valor in our armies, is the proudest fact of the war, and we owe it to ourselves to say it, and to make our account of it, in whatever way we are able.

But there is one other and yet higher duty that we owe to these dead; viz., that we take their places and stand in their cause. It is even a great law of natural duty that the living shall come into the places and works of the dead. The same also is accepted and honored by Christianity, when it shows the Christian son, and brother, and friend, stepping into the places made vacant by the dead, to assume their blessed and great work unaccomplished, and die, if need be, in the testimony of a common martyrdom. They challenged, in this manner, if the commentators will suffer it, the vows of baptism, and "were baptized for the dead,"—consecrated upon the dead, for the work of the dead. God lays it upon us in the same way now,

to own the bond of fealty that connects us with the fallen, in the conscious community and righteous kinship of their cause. And then, as brothers baptized for the dead,—Alumni, so to speak, of the Republic,—we are to execute their purpose and fulfill the idea that inspired them. Neither is it enough at this point to go off in a general heroic, promising, in high rhetoric, to give our life for the country in like manner. There is no present likelihood that we shall be called to do any such thing. No, but we have duties upon us that are closer at hand; viz., to wind up and settle this great tragedy in a way to exactly justify every drop of blood that has been shed in it. Like the blood of righteous Abel it cries both to us and to God, from every field, and river, and wood, and road, dotted by our pickets and swept by the march of our armies.

First of all we are sworn to see that no vestige of state sovereignty is left, and the perpetual, supreme sovereignty of the nation established. For what but this have our heroes died? Not one of them would have died for a government of mere optional continuance; not one for a government fit to be rebelled against. But they volunteered for a government in perfect right, and one to be perpetual as the stars, and they went to the death as against the crime of hell. Tell me also this,—if a government is good enough to die *for*, is it not good enough to die *by*, when it is violated? Not that every traitor is, of course, to be visited by the punishment of treason. It is not for me to say who, or how many or few, shall

suffer that punishment. But I would willingly take the question to the dead victims of Belle Isle, and Salisbury, and Andersonville, and let them be the judges. There is no revenge in them now. The wild storms of their agony are laid, and the thoughts which bear sway in the world where they are gathered are those of the merciful Christ, and Christ is the judge before whose bar they know full well that their redress is sure. And yet I think it will be none the less their judgment that something is due to law and justice here. As, too, it was something for them to die for the law, I can imagine them to ask whether it is not something for the law to prove its vindicated honor in the fit punishment of such barbarities? May it not occur to them also to ask, whether proportion is not an everlasting attribute of justice? And if punctual retribution is to follow the sudden taking off of one, whether the deliberate and slow starvation of so many thousands is to be fitly ignored and raise no sword of judgment? Neither is it any thing to say, that the awful ruin of the rebellious country is itself a punishment upon the grandest scale, and ought to be sufficient; for the misery of it is, that it falls on the innocent and not on the leaders and projectors, who are the chief criminals. Our liberal friends abroad conjure us to follow the lead of their despotisms, and cover up gently all these offenses, because they are only political. Ah! there is a difference which they need to learn. Doubtless governments may be bad enough to make political offenses innocent; nay, to

make them even righteous. But we have not fought this dreadful war to a close, just to put our government upon a par with their oppressive dynasties! We scorn the parallel they give us; and we owe it even to them to say, that a government which is friendly, and free, and right, protecting all alike, and doing the most for all, is one of God's sacred finalities, which no hand may touch, or conspiracy assail, without committing the most damning crime, such as can be matched by no possible severities of justice. We are driven in thus on every side, upon the conclusion that examples ought to be and must be made. Only they must be few and such as can be taken apart from all sectional conditions; for we have sections to compose, and the ordinary uses of punishment in cases of private treason do not pertain where the crime is nearly geographic, and is scarcely different from public war.

One thing more we are also sworn upon the dead to do; viz., to see that every vestige of slavery is swept clean. We did not begin the war to extirpate slavery; but the war itself took hold of slavery on its way, and as this had been the gangrene of our wound from the first, we shortly put ourselves heartily to the cleansing, and shall not, as good surgeons, leave a part of the virus in it. We are not to extirpate the form and leave the fact. The whole black code must go; the law of passes, and the law of evidence, and the unequal laws of suit and impeachment for crime. We are bound, if possible, to make the emancipation work

well; as it never can, till the old habit of domination, and the new grudges of exasperated pride and passion, are qualified by gentleness and consideration. Otherwise there will be no industry but only jangle; society in fact will be turned into a hell of poverty and confusion. And this kind relationship never can be secured, till the dejected and despised race are put upon the footing of men, and allowed to assert themselves somehow in the laws. Putting aside all theoretic notions of equality, and regarding nothing but the practical want of the emancipation, negro suffrage appears to be indispensable. But the want is one thing, and the right of compelling it another. Our States have always made their own laws of suffrage, and if we want to resuscitate the state rights doctrine, there is no so ready way as to rouse it by state wrongs. But there is always a way of doing what wants to be done,—pardon me if I name it even here; for our dead are not asking mere rhetoric of us, but duty. They call us to no whimpering over them, no sad weeping, or doling of soft sympathy, but to counsel and true action. I remember too, that we have taken more than a hundred thousand of these freedmen of the war to fight our common battle. I remember the massacre of Fort Pillow. I remember the fatal assault of Fort Wagner and the gallant Shaw sleeping there in the pile of his black followers. I remember the bloody fight and victory on the James, where the ground itself was black with dead. Ah, there is a debt of honor here! And honor is never so sacred as

when it is due to the weak. Blasted and accursed be the soul that will forget these dead! If they had no offices or honors, if they fought and died in the plane of their humility,—Thou just God, forbid that we suffer them now to be robbed of the hope that inspired them!

Do then simply this, which we have a perfect constitutional right to do,—pass this very simple amendment, that the basis of representation in Congress shall hereafter be the number, in all the States alike, of the free male voters therein. Then the work is done; a general free suffrage follows by consent, and as soon as it probably ought. For these returning States will not be long content with half the offices they want, and half the power allowed them in the Republic. Negro suffrage is thus carried without even naming the word.

Need I add, that now, by these strange fortunes of the rebellion rushing on its Providential overthrow, immense responsibilities are put upon us, that are new. A new style of industry is to be inaugurated. The soil is to be distributed over again, villages are to be created, schools established, churches erected, preachers and teachers provided, and money for these purposes to be poured out in rivers of benefaction, even as it has been in the war. A whole hundred years of new creation will be needed to repair these wastes and regenerate these habits of wrong; and we are baptized for the dead, to go forth in God's name, ceasing not, and putting it upon our children never to cease, till the work is done.

My task is now finished; only, alas! too feebly. There are many things I might say, addressing you as Alumni, as professors and teachers, and as scholars training here for the new age to come. But you will anticipate my suggestions, and pass on by me, to conceive a better wisdom for yourselves. One thing only I will name, which is fitting, as we part, for us all; viz., that without any particle of vain assumption, we swear by our dead to be Americans. Our position is gained! Our die of history is struck! Thank God we have a country, and that country has the chance of a future! Ours be it henceforth to cherish that country, and assert that future; also, to invigorate both by our own civilization, adorn them by our literature, consolidate them in our religion. Ours be it also, in God's own time, to champion, by land and sea, the right of this whole continent to be an American world, and to have its own American laws, and liberties, and institutions.

XI.

LETTER TO HIS HOLINESS, POPE GREGORY XVI.*

VENERABLE PONTIFF:—

This letter, I am well aware, will be unwelcome to you. I shall speak plainly in it, and I hope I may suffer no undue restraint from the eminence of your position. At the same time, it is my design so to speak, that, if I seem to be your adversary in some things, you may still acknowledge me to be a respectful and not ungenerous adversary. I distinguish between your office and your person. If then I exercise a degree of freedom, which indicates how little it signifies to me that you are the pope, let it soften the affront that your venerable age and, if I may trust the opinion of many, the more venerable inoffensiveness of your gray hairs, require me to approach you with sentiments of personal deference, which I could not feel, either towards your office, or your peculiar

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religious opinions. Indeed, there is one thing only which withholds me in this duty, viz., the question: Why should I trouble thus an old man's end?—Is it not unmerciful to meet him thus at his grave's edge, and upbraid him there with errors he cannot rectify and wrongs he cannot redress? But I remember that the sorrows and miseries of your dominion are also old,—older far than you, and not less entitled to pity. I remember too, that an old man, who has passed over all the heights of honor and ambition, and has nothing left him but his Judge, will sometimes be accessible to remonstrances which others could not hear. At the same time, what I shall formally charge will not be designed to lie against you personally, but only against the system which is represented in you, and has you for its instrument,—I would fain hope its unwilling and, in some things at least, its unadvised instrument,—which if you discover, what is it but the dearest privilege God has given you in life, that you may quit the world leaving your paternal testimony to the evils and wrongs it is too late for you to remedy?

Let it not be a forfeiture of your good will or patience, if I address you as a member of the Christian Alliance of the United States. That society has none of the atrocious designs you seem to have apprehended, judging from the bull you issued so promptly on receiving notice of its organization. It works no secret plots against your peace. Its object is openly professed, namely, to prepare the way for a reforma-

tion of your church by rendering it accessible to truth. We believe that the time for using church penalties in place of Christian arguments, dungeons instead of doctrine, has gone by; that a better day has come, one that better suits the rational and merciful spirit of Christianity. We combine, therefore, to express our grief at the dishonor you reflect upon religion by suppressing longer the freedom of religious faith and argument among your subjects. We believe that England and the United States have only yielded to first principles, in allowing your teachers the utmost freedom of doctrine within their borders; and that you, in imposing a rigid silence upon our teachers in the Roman States, violate the same first principles, and that in a manner that is arrogant and offensive, as well as a bitter violation of our Christian rights. In one word, we ask of you to yield us and your subjects religious liberty, that is, to renounce *force* as an instrument of religion, that is, to give up a kind of slavery as much more cruel than any other, as immortality is dearer than the body, as much more impious as it is closer upon the rights of God.

It is right to add that in making the tour of Italy, which I have recently done, I have acted in no respect as an agent of the Alliance. I came among you simply as an ordinary traveler, though not without apprehension, from the tone of your bull, that I must owe it to some oversight of your police if I was permitted to pass. I have seen of course what fell under my eyes. I have inquired, as every intelligent traveler

will, and, perhaps, with a little more than ordinary diligence. Nothing has been more agreeable to me than to find, that in some things my judgments of your system would bear to be softened, and where I have been able to find positive excellences or beauties in it, they have yielded me the sincerest pleasure. And yet, I return with a spirit afflicted by the dismal picture of what I have seen. The mournful image of your state follows me; and I sit down to write this remonstrance, not without some hope of the blessing promised to such as visit them that are in prison and minister unto them. The sentiments I offer are my own, and are offered on my own responsibility. I only hope they will meet the general approbation of a society in whose dignified and merciful aims I feel so profound an interest.

And first of all, I must protest against the dishonor you do to religion, by the kind of civil government you maintain, in connection with your spiritual office. It is, to say the least, a very extraordinary thing that you, who call yourself a minister and even vicar of Christ, should become just that royal person, or king, he dared not consent to be. This however you are, and if so, the responsibility is on you; a responsibility measured not by the extent of your power only, but more by the sacredness of your pretensions. You assume to be the head of the Christian church, and a large part of the world have so little knowledge of any other form of religion, as really to suppose that you are the veritable representation of Christianity

offensive baldness of your priestly frauds and usurpations. See now, whether I will ask you to do what is wide of reason and charity. I do not propose to you Protestantism, as the standard of all wisdom and duty; I simply ask you to submit your church to the open trial of truth in the field of religious liberty; to withdraw your bayonets, close up the grim doors of your prisons, and bare your bosoms to the truth. If we are wrong, resist us by the truth: if you, then let truth convert you. Now, you hold your church by the tenure of a robber's castle, out of which you sally to depredate, and within which you may gather the spoil; whereas, it should rather be a city without walls, whither all may come at pleasure, but fortified within by law and equity. Doubtless, we have some attachment to Protestantism, and must be allowed to have, till you offer us what is better. That it is a great advance upon Rome we are quite certain, but we are far from regarding it as a perfect thing. It gives too many signs to the contrary. How indeed, was it possible for Luther, confronting your thunders alone and quailing himself every hour in the face of unknown perils, to settle, in so great want of tranquillity, a perfect system of truth and order? Or how was it to be expected that a reformation begun by sin itself, like that of England, could be so washed by the care of good men afterwards, as not to come out with some bad stains upon it, whether we can see them or not? Equally improbable is it that any reform has taken place in a church so badly corrupted as yours, with-

out bringing truths to light that are worthy of your study and adoption. Accept the good, reject the bad. The results you cannot use as models, use as antagonisms or reactive forces to steady your inquiries after what is better; for this is a help not insignificant. At the same time, it is not to be questioned that if you advance beyond us, your advances will accrue to our benefit, and assist the final settlement and harmony of the world's opinions. Therefore we regret the more the apparent infatuation that urges you still to cleave to your infallibility, and continue, in despite of the frowns of the age, to maintain by force what you dare not trust to argument; for it is scarcely possible that some political intrigue, in which your friends may betray you, some fatal outbreak of the impatience of Italy, or some hostile combination from without in which the collected odium of the world shall pour its vials of wrath into your bosom, will not ere long interrupt your self-control, and tear you so violently as to make deliberation impossible. Then all the rich advantages that might accrue to mankind, through a new and original reformation of your church, are lost.

It is a remarkable feature of this age, let it also be observed, that your religion and ours are becoming intermixed as never before. In France, the Protestant interest is rising daily. In the United States, a Catholic interest is increasing by emigration. In England, the action of the government and the late accessions you have gained from the establishment are placing

less of all interests, sinks, of course, to a depression most hopeless and sorrowful of all. Then, lest misery should heave the sigh of impatience, or woe give vent to the unlicensed groan, you quarter on your impoverished and dispirited States an army of soldiers large enough to keep the peace of an empire. Next you add another army of ecclesiastics, out of all proportion with their resources, and I should hope even with their sins, (at Rome one to every twenty-eight of the people,) and these subsist of course, by dead consumption too, and as a public burden. And then, as if earth could not yield ministers of exaction enough, you quarter on them also a third army of saints, who are the worst and most terrible scourge of all; inasmuch as they come down to chain the hands of industry one day in three of the working days of the year. Possibly your people might bear up and thrive under your terrestrial exactions, but when heaven comes down to mock them, the struggle is unequal. What people bereft of a whole third part of their industry, what people having all habits of industry broken up, and turned into the street, as every observer knows your people are on the saints' days, thus to spend a third part of their time in compulsory idleness, could long retain a vestige of thrift or virtuous economy? Indeed, I had never such a sense of the prolific bountifulness of nature, as when I looked on the immense army of dead consumption you had brought to the prey without producing a general starvation.

To complete the misery of this picture, we have

only to add that you have blasted the homes of your people, and made them dry of comfort; for it is here that the oppressed of other nations are ever able to mitigate the bitterness of their sorrows, by the freedom of domestic love and sympathy. Your confessors are continually at work, as your agents of police, hunting after the symptoms of discontent; busied every where, in scenting out, if possible, even the uneasy thoughts of misery. Often have I heard it boasted at Rome, that your confessors make such an admirable police! You have a confessor between every wife and her husband, and between both and their children; so that if one lisps a free thought, or vents a sigh at the table, the story, he knows, will be wormed out of some one in the family; and then if he escapes the prison, he must try what it is to wear out, by penance, the dissatisfaction he sought to ease by expression. They must keep their secrets, therefore, to themselves, they must not trust each other. There is no freedom at the hearth, the table is a gathering of spies, and the last relish of earthly comfort heaven gives to soothe the misery of oppression is taken away.

It must follow, of course, that your people are depressed in their character as they are in their circumstances; a point about which no traveler is long in doubt. He remarks, first of all, the generally fine physical mold of your people, the look of brilliancy and genius so common among them. But it requires a short time only to detect the melancholy want of all that is akin to magnanimity in their character. They

are passionate, cruel, servile, faithless to a proverb, and mournfully destitute of all habits of industry, order, and providence. I say not this of all but of the many; and I charge it upon you, that reigning over them in the name of a religion that promises to exalt them to a godlike image, you have sunk them even below the physical mold of their nature; reduced them to a deeper ignominy than sin, without your aid, was able. Was it not some painful consciousness of this, which induced you to undertake a more general plan of education? I was about to thank you for it; but why is it that when you undertake a duty which approaches the Christlike character, you invariably add some mark that is opposite to the genius of Christ's religion? Why is it, for example, that you teach, as I was told you do, the geography of Italy, and forbid the geography of the world? Are you afraid to let your people know the world which Christ undertook to make one brotherhood in the truth?—afraid lest possibly some mischievous desire of liberty or light should be wakened in them by the nobler history and happier state of other communities? You have a little newspaper too, just as you have a little geography. It is about the size of a window pane, and it is distinguished by the fact that every matter is carefully sifted out which can possibly provoke an opinion. Nay, the readiest way for a Roman to find out what is going on in Italy itself is to take an English or French newspaper. And is it thus, or by such kind of instruments, that you expect to redeem

the character of your people, and the dishonored name of your government? Are you so blind as to think that you can give your people a standing as men, in such an age as this, without light, without a knowledge of the world,—the empires between which it is distributed, and the institutions by which they are distinguished?

Possibly these strictures on your government may be, in some particulars, erroneous; but their general correctness is evident to the eyes of your people and of all travelers. Perhaps you will plead, in answer to them, the distinctness of your civil and ecclesiastical rule, and that any apparent failure in your civil department must be taken by itself and attributed to historical causes separate from your religion. On the contrary, it will be found that every one of the marks of civil depression which I have named, if you review the catalogue, is the legitimate fruit of ecclesiastical causes, and of nothing else. Of this, I can give you also even statistical proof. I saw it established, not long ago, by a curious collation of statistics from the several states of Italy, though the document is not now within my reach, that the deficiency of exports in the several states, the want of education, the severity of the public burdens, the number of crimes and of illegitimate births, is just in proportion to the number of ecclesiastics! Rome, the spiritual city, the metropolis of the church of God, having the greatest number of ecclesiastics, is worst and basest of all. God grant you the Christian sensibility to weep over a fact so humiliating.

Consider, a moment, how you stand before us and the world. We find you exercising kingly power. You tell us also, that you are the chief bishop of the church of God, and the representative of Christ on earth. We expect you, therefore, as king of the Roman States, to show us the most benign government in the world; the most enlightened, most magnanimous, freest, happiest people. But you make it instead the public shame of the Christian religion, that every good interest of society is blasted under it. All calculations based on the benignity of Christian virtue are disappointed, and nothing is left us but the inference that, if Christ is indeed represented in you, then is Christ one of the most malignant obstacles to the advancement and happiness of mankind. The inference is irresistible, and what is more, it is taken. And therefore, in the name of the Christian world, I protest against the delinquencies by which you furnish so baleful an argument. I do not say, or believe, that you are a tyrant. I have seen no one of your people who has that opinion of you. But the misery is that your ecclesiastico-civil fabric has made your place the place only of a tyrant. You are set by your office, in the centre of a system of oppression, to preside over it; so that if you do not overflow your office in some positive demonstrations of mercy that amount to a revolt against the system, you really act the despot, with only the better grace for your gentle intentions. You are called, in the style of your office, the *pope*, that is, the *father* of your people; and doubtless you take

an amiable pleasure in the designation. Would that your unhappy ignorance of a relation so beautiful did not make it easier to deceive yourself here, than it might be. Where are the signs of that mutual confidence, that freedom of manner, that tenderness of protection answered by tenderness of respect, which mark the true paternal relation? Is it paternal when you go to your worship through files of soldiers? Is it paternal when you are seen hiring regiments of mercenaries, because you cannot trust the fidelity of of your people? Every few years they break out in revolution, and the troops of Austria are sent for to save you from defeat and expulsion. It is perfectly well understood by the world, you yourself understand it also, that there is no day in the year in which you would not be driven out of Italy, if your people were left to their will. I see nothing paternal in this. I look in vain for some scene of fatherly benignity, where you take your children to your arms in freedom, and receive their filial demonstrations. The nearest approach to it I have discovered is, when you are seen borne through the air above them, waving your blessing. But when this pageant is over, you slink away into the recesses of the Vatican, like some Eastern despot, with sentinels to guard your sleep; and if a revolution should break out before morning, you have a postern key under your pillow, and a covered gallery of masonry strung through the air, a half mile in length, through which you may slip into the fort of St. Angelo, and take refuge behind the artillery!

There your gun-powder paternity waits to caress its children.

But I must draw myself a little closer, and speak of things that lie within the sacred province of religion, not however, to any great extent, of things most connected with the internal merits of your system; for, as questions of this nature are in dispute between you and Protestants, I could hardly expect by any mere statements to carry your convictions with me. But there are things a little farther off where I shall have less difficulty, and where, if I am successful, it will answer my purpose very nearly as well.

Between you and your priests, it is a thing perfectly well understood that your religion is not intellectual. To act on men through truth, to address their understandings, to sanctify them through the truth, is not your plan. You are as cautious to limit knowledge as you are to give it, and you consciously appeal to superstition as often as to reason. This is the more unworthy of you, because you so often and so justly make it the praise of your church that, in a former age, when the many were struggling up into the light from under their oppressions, she entered into their case and strove with them. It was a noble office, and nobly fulfilled. The more should it mortify you, that you can praise so earnestly what you shun so carefully. You are afraid,—are you not?—that more light, a more elevated manly habit, a spirit less enthralled and humiliated by superstition, would necessitate some change or reformation in your system.

You have mortgaged yourselves also to the cause of legitimacy and despotism; hoping, as it seems to me very absurdly, to gain strength by foreign alliances; when the real cause of your infirmity is that your system is rotting down on its own base. Thus it is that you try no more to exalt them that are of low degree. You come as ministers of light, but secretly afraid of light, and more careful to measure it than to give it. This I say is not concealed from yourselves; you know that you are putting your church into a false position, though to save it; you wish it were not necessary; you are secretly ashamed of it: the penalty is to come.

You are equally ashamed, I am sure, of the relics and the old wives' fables concerning them, which the former ages, so uncomfortably for you, grafted into your infallible system. You have here a holy coat, and there another,—a half-dozen holy coats,—all certified by your predecessors, if I rightly remember, to be the veritable seamless robe of Christ. You have as many napkins or *sudoria* on which he wiped his bloody face in his passion. You have the spear that pierced his side, and the cross on which he expired. Here you have a church, where the very foot-prints are shown which St. Peter left miraculously indented in a marble pavement when on his way to Rome. Another is built to receive the chains he wore in prison. A third exhibits the altar at which he said mass. A fourth contains the very stairs of Pontius Pilate, which Christ ascended when he was taken

before him. A fifth preserves the very table at which Christ celebrated the first supper, and the porphyry pillar on which the cock stood, when he crowed as a sign of rebuke to Peter. A sixth contains the cradle in which Christ was rocked; and the seventh, if not the very infant that he was, a bambino carved in heaven to represent him and brought down by angels. So also, you have the bones of the magi, the Virgin's girdle, pictures by St. Luke, and I know not how many silly trifles, which you call *sacred relics*. You are obliged to call them so, because they are part of your infallibility. If you display them to the multitude to work on their superstitions, you must also exhibit them before men of sense; a formality which is quite as visibly trying to your self-respect as to their gravity. Then you have ceremonies, which you understand as well as I are only solemn fooleries in the sacred name of God and religion; such, for example, as that festal day of buffoonery, when the cattle and horses are brought to St. Antonio to receive the priestly blessing. It is well for you, that the animals are under a restraint of nature, else they might laugh in your faces. As to the celibacy of the clergy, I know very well that you are not yet ready to own it a delusion. The same clinging to infallibility which perpetuates the blessing of the horses, after the absurdity of the ceremony is felt, perpetuates also this, and doubtless there is as much true sanctity imparted by one as by the other. A sad chapter of history is here. I will not so far insult your understanding, as

to suppose that you have failed to learn from it to entertain the most serious doubts of this special kind of sanctity; or your love to Christ's honor, so far as to suspect that if the question were now a new one, you and your priesthood would not face the proposed rule of celibacy with your most earnest protestations, as offering to men spurious notions of virtue, and fraught with bitter mischiefs to the church.

It is the doctrine also of your church, I believe, that you are its earthly head, and, in your official capacity, infallible. I would fain like to know what you yourself think of this? Do you find any spot in you for the infallibility they speak of? I saw you two or three times during my stay at Rome. I should have said that you might be a man of worth and modesty, but I had no suspicion at all that you were infallible in any sense. It is not claimed, I believe, that you are infallible in your character, but in your office only. Is it then your happiness, let me ask, that you have fallen into no official mistake since you came into your office? Are your decrees and measures, like those of the Almighty, the expression of a perfect wisdom? Is it possible that you are clear of the ordinary pains of fallibility, the uncertainty of half-seeing, the timidity of planning without foresight, the indecision of measures that may possibly end in unknown mischief? If so, your modesty may restrain you from professing so great happiness,—do you then feel it? Quite sure I am, that whatever there is of Christian humility in you is hurt and offended by

these pretensions. You secretly nauseate them; you wish it were possible to be excused from the legacy of disgust the church has left you in this doctrine.

It is also a favorite representation of your office, that you are the lineal successor of St. Peter. It is not within my object to deny that you are. I only say, that if you are the successor of St. Peter, there is certainly much for you to do, a large reform to make in order fully to justify your claim of successorship. Until then, it must savor too much of irony. I saw your three magnificent palaces, seats of regal majesty which the most splendid monarch in the richest and most populous empire of Europe might envy. I remembered that the money which sustains this royal ostentation is wrung out of a small state and a poverty-stricken people, who have also to support the splendors of the cardinals, and the golden liveries that flame about the gates of the Vatican,—did I see, in this, the unambitious manners, and the tender ministry of the fisherman of Galilee? I turned to his words. I found him saying: "Feed the flock of God." Do you call this *feeding* the flock? I visited your palace on the Quirinal; I traveled through the halls adorned with regal splendor, and more than regal art; I looked out from your terraced gardens, which overhang the city as proudly as the palace of the Cæsars in the days of the Empire; I noticed in particular the paraphernalia of luxury and pleasure on every side,—your billiard tables, your grottos of statuary, your closeted bowers, your musical fountains, and

the ingenious follies you have prepared to frighten the ladies ; but pardon me if I could not bring myself to regard this kind of machinery as exactly fitted to the serious and responsible office of one who keeps the souls of the world ; least of all, to the successor of that humble, unambitious apostle, who took the legacy of poverty and fiery trial his Saviour left him, bore it in rough earnest as a rough man only could, and therein greatly rejoiced. The stores of artistic wealth you have gathered round you in the Vatican have a high dignity. A cultivated sense of beauty is, at least, an accomplishment, and one which, in itself, is innocent. But whosoever has wearied himself, day after day, in exploring the streets of the Vatican palace,—that city populated by the pallet and the chisel,—will not think of you merely as exercising there the dry paternity of a monk towards the forms of beauty congregated round you ; but he will think of these accumulated stores as a pageant of ambition ; he will fancy the priest engaged to rival the prince, and not displeased with his victory. When it goes out, therefore, that you are here as the anointed successor of an apostle, even the apostle Peter, what has Peter to do with the Vatican, or the lord of the Vatican with Peter ? What bond of connection is there between the apostle of the fine arts and the apostle Peter ?

Nor will your worship in the Sistine chapel any better assimilate you to your supposed predecessor and the manner of his time. Woman cannot enter there ; the wife of Peter himself could not enter, save

behind a screen, lest her presence should disturb the flow of your sanctified emotions. No profane laic can enter save in a dress coat. The judgment of the world is artistically transacted over your altar, that you may not forget, I suppose, at your altar the judgment of the world. Sitting on your throne, as the successor of the fisherman of Galilee, your august person and the altar of the Lord are censed again and again with the common honors of worship. The cardinals float about you in stately trailings and gyrations to pay you their homage, and kiss your golden phylacteries; and your slipper receives the humbler homage of those who can stoop lower. What now could Peter make of this? What part of this pageant, what single item, do you imagine ever to have been seen in the churches of the apostles? Meantime I will not dispatch with a question another item of the scene, which I have not yet named. When the anthem rose, which was to lift our soul to God, my ear was caught by notes of a strange quality,—not the voice of woman, not of man. I turned my eye to the little gallery opposite where I stood, and, through the open work of the front, I spied the scrawny, sorrowful-looking faces of the poor beings whom you have damned to a fall even out of nature, to serve the luxury of your worship. Merciful God! Is this Christianity, the religion of him who came to exalt the poor and restore God's image in man? That hour of disgust and indignation I shall never forget. And I declare to you here, the only place in which I can do it, that if there be a God in

heaven who hears your anthems in the Sistine chapel, the voices of these desecrated beings will go up, not as praise, but as cries for redress and vengeance. This cruelty is an insult to Christ, which we could not pardon in a harem; what then is it in a sanctuary of worship? Above all, what as an instrument of worship?

The grand pageant of Christmas was only an exaggeration of the irreverent exaggerations of the chapel. I pass by the attendant military pomp and preparation of the hour, and the imposing show of princes and of the great of the kingdom flowing majestically to their honored places. What do we see, at length, but a man, who is known as the successor to a poor pedestrian apostle, riding in through the air; borne aloft on the shoulders of men in a purple flood of glory; and followed on each side, in stately march, by slowly nodding plumes of white, starred with the eyes of the peacock's feathers,—emblematic, it is declared, of the eyes of the whole earth, turning hither to behold the representative of God! But when the bearers deposited their gilded burden, as they did very near to the place where I stood, I thought I could detect in your manner that you yourself were ashamed of the figure that was made of you. Pardon me, if in the excess of my charity, I make you feel as a sensible man and a Christian ought. And what, I could not but ask, would your favorite apostle think of this, if he were here? Poor fellow! Most likely he would have lacked the dress coat necessary to come within the circle of

gentility, and therefore could not have found a place near enough to look on his gilded successor at all. But I fancied him still in his weather-beaten cloak, and his brown plebeian face, hanging round among the distant crowd, and scarce restraining his indignant fire. Well was it for the occasion that he was not really there; else, possibly, we might have had some demonstrations of the human Peter, as well as of the saint. I certainly would not like to engage, that when he saw the multitude wearing out the toe of his image by their idolatrous salutations, the old sword that cut off the ear, (unless before dispensed with,) would not have been heard clashing thick upon the demolished head of his representative. But returning to his better mind, he would doubtless blame the impetuous gust which had hurried him away, and he would go forth, weeping bitterly, to ask of his Lord in secret, what crime he had committed, that men should set up this grim idol in his name?

In the points I have here collected for your notice, I have purposely abstained from the grave questions between you and Protestants; and yet I hope to have been even the more successful in this way in producing a conviction, which cannot be dislodged, of important errors, and a grievous want of the original apostolic simplicity in your church. Indeed, I have only stirred convictions by which you must have been visited many times before. The age creeps round you, and whispers suspicions and uncomfortable distrusts; you try to send them away, but they come

back and loiter with pernicious obstinacy round you. If you could make certain reforms, without shaking down your babel of infallibility, you would do it. But time is a stubborn teacher, and his day must come. What can you do with your infallibility, when it is already shaken, when even now it begins to seem a little fallible to you all? See how easily you are disturbed, and how ready you are to find enemies that are going to overwhelm you! No sooner does a little society come into existence, or rather propose to exist, the other side of the world, than you come forth pale from your conclave, and publish your solemn bull of caution to the flock. If a railroad is proposed by your people, that ordinary blessing which modern genius has offered to the internal commerce of states, you dare not assent to what other rulers so eagerly embrace as the most innocent well-disposed contrivance in the world, because you fear lest new ideas may come in with new improvements. And doubtless you are right in this. A steam-car whizzing into Rome and by St. Peter's, bringing new faces from new worlds, stirring a motion, filling men's heads with the notion of modern improvement and the grandeur of the conquests over nature achieved by modern art,—what is this, but the arrival in Rome of the new age of the world? Why, St. Peter's might as well never have been built. Type of immutability, confronted by the proof of change,—henceforth it is no better than an anchor that has slipped its hold. But the railroad must come, and the new ideas too. You may possi-

bly delay their coming, but they will only break over you in the more terrible storm at last. If you are to forbid new ideas, you ought also to forbid the English; for, if their money is convenient, their presence is dangerous. What poison more fatal than their English manners to infuse into your Italian society? Rely upon it, new thoughts are shaken from their skirts whenever they walk your streets. Their liveries flash newness in the eyes of your people. Their very money too, wearing the stamp of a protestant face, and suggesting the prosperity of a people who have equal laws, and a free religion, is a pernicious thing to look upon. No, if the English occupy the Pincian hill, it is vain for you to occupy the Vatican. You may keep their little church under quarantine outside the wall, but their new ideas will come in through the gate and over the wall,—nay, they will creep into your own windows, and those of your priesthood, and disturb at last the peace of you all. You may send for more troops, but your Swiss guard cannot fight away ideas. And the power you have in yourselves to fight them away is marvelously weakened, when once they have forced their entrance, and compelled you to feel their strength. For when once you begin to be a little disingenuous; when, despite the many consecrated shams and superstitions outlawed by time, and pomps whose glitter has changed to irony, all thronging round you with faces grinning mockery, you still endeavor to support the infallibility that has been so often flawed; then begins a slow

but sure process of debauchery in you, which enervates not your integrity only, but your will. Besides, what you hold by your will separated from all firm and hearty conviction is feebly held of course. Mere will may be stiff enough for a short time, but, like a muscle long extended, it is sure at length to yield. You are just now trying, I know, to encourage yourselves in the hope of some unknown triumph, about to be achieved in England and, perhaps, in the United States. You are willing to believe that your cause is rising, and are even ready to imagine that the dominions you have lost are about to come back and own your allegiance. But the very signs by which you are cheered, I must warn you, foretoken rather an attitude of firmness and more compact resistance; nay, it is well for you if they do not rouse a combined movement sufficiently vigorous to overwhelm you. Meanwhile, you are losing in France and Germany ten-fold what you gain elsewhere. And Italy itself, you well know, is held to its allegiance by nothing but the Swiss guards and the foreign alliances; alliances which may dissolve in a moment, as before the breath of God, on the occurrence of the slightest change in the attitude of the European states. To-morrow even may find you without any protector but God, which would be equivalent to your utter overthrow.

What then do we ask of you? If I have spoken of your administration in terms of decision, or apparent severity, it is because I could not otherwise do justice to the enormity of your oppressions, and the

offensive baldness of your priestly frauds and usurpations. See now, whether I will ask you to do what is wide of reason and charity. I do not propose to you Protestantism, as the standard of all wisdom and duty; I simply ask you to submit your church to the open trial of truth in the field of religious liberty; to withdraw your bayonets, close up the grim doors of your prisons, and bare your bosoms to the truth. If we are wrong, resist us by the truth: if you, then let truth convert you. Now, you hold your church by the tenure of a robber's castle, out of which you sally to depredate, and within which you may gather the spoil; whereas, it should rather be a city without walls, whither all may come at pleasure, but fortified within by law and equity. Doubtless, we have some attachment to Protestantism, and must be allowed to have, till you offer us what is better. That it is a great advance upon Rome we are quite certain, but we are far from regarding it as a perfect thing. It gives too many signs to the contrary. How indeed, was it possible for Luther, confronting your thunders alone and quailing himself every hour in the face of unknown perils, to settle, in so great want of tranquillity, a perfect system of truth and order? Or how was it to be expected that a reformation begun by sin itself, like that of England, could be so washed by the care of good men afterwards, as not to come out with some bad stains upon it, whether we can see them or not? Equally improbable is it that any reform has taken place in a church so badly corrupted as yours, with-

out bringing truths to light that are worthy of your study and adoption. Accept the good, reject the bad. The results you cannot use as models, use as antagonisms or reactive forces to steady your inquiries after what is better; for this is a help not insignificant. At the same time, it is not to be questioned that if you advance beyond us, your advances will accrue to our benefit, and assist the final settlement and harmony of the world's opinions. Therefore we regret the more the apparent infatuation that urges you still to cleave to your infallibility, and continue, in despite of the frowns of the age, to maintain by force what you dare not trust to argument; for it is scarcely possible that some political intrigue, in which your friends may betray you, some fatal outbreak of the impatience of Italy, or some hostile combination from without in which the collected odium of the world shall pour its vials of wrath into your bosom, will not ere long interrupt your self-control, and tear you so violently as to make deliberation impossible. Then all the rich advantages that might accrue to mankind, through a new and original reformation of your church, are lost.

It is a remarkable feature of this age, let it also be observed, that your religion and ours are becoming intermixed as never before. In France, the Protestant interest is rising daily. In the United States, a Catholic interest is increasing by emigration. In England, the action of the government and the late accessions you have gained from the establishment are placing

you upon a more even footing. In Switzerland, Germany and the Austrian empire, the two religions have long been set in proximity. Everywhere their representatives meet each other face to face; they intermarry, they are fellow-citizens of the same state, they controvert, correspond, reason about and with each other. This letter to you is only a sign of the times. By means of the press, you are henceforth to stand out in the face of the world and be made a study,—which, if you have merits, it is well; if not, then it is well. What now we want is to have this intermixture in Italy, as elsewhere, as we certainly know we shall have it, and that soon. Then, after that, let the ferment go on throughout the mass. If it be uncomfortable to us all, still let it go on. If in this universal interfusion Protestantism is dissolved by Romanism, and this again by Protestantism; then, if it please God, let them dissolve, and it may be they will crystallize together. I will dare to trust anything to truth. Whatever cannot stand the free action of argument, let it fall; whatever truth will modify, let it be modified.

We ask it of you, then, to give us religious liberty, that is, to withdraw force as an instrument of religious opinion. And what has God been teaching you of late, but to feel the humanity and justice of this demand? I pretend to know nothing of the rumored persecutions of the Polish nuns, save that you and your people earnestly believed the story. And what have you been doing but filling Christendom with

your indignant outcries against this inhumanity? And what did I hear from your priests and people at Rome, a few days ago, but the bitterest imprecations against the Emperor of Russia, then present in the city; imprecations, I had reason to believe, that drew their bitterness from the feeling of the Vatican? But you need to beware lest the righteous impulses of nature in your bosoms betray you into hasty concessions. For if it is good for Rome to employ force as an instrument of religion, why not for Russia? And if persecution is so ill for the nuns of Minsk, is it any better for the fifteen hundred nuns of Rome, should they happen at some future day to renounce your church and your doctrine? If flogging or starvation is not good discipline for the opinions in Russia, is it any better in Italy? Does the virtue or validity of torture depend upon the latitude? Better is it ingenuously to adopt the conclusions to which the ready promptings of humanity lead you, and what you detest so bitterly in others for ever renounce in yourselves.

I have heard it suggested that you are the last pope who will exercise temporal rule in Italy; that the civil powers who have acted as your guardians are so much disappointed and chagrined by the incurable oppression they find to be involved in a priestly government, as to have decided on leaving your successor a spiritual jurisdiction only. I know not what authority there may be in this rumor, but I hope for the honor of religion it may be true. But, however this may be, it is time for you and all princes to consider,

whether the melancholy spectacle of divisions and animosities in the Christian world is not caused by a denial of the rights of truth, and attempts to guard by force what force can only disturb. Whether, in short, as trade has laws of equilibrium and health, which are safest in their action when they act freely; so also restrictions of force in the arguments and faith of men do not create, of necessity, false repugnances, and disturb the even balance of their opinions. How shall truth even hold her equilibrium, when it is not error she has set against her, but force? Emancipate the truth of God, and it will be wonderful if truth does not emancipate us. There will be no sudden violent change perhaps, such as some men love to see, and such as you have the greatest reason to fear, in case you stand by your infallibility longer; but error will melt away in the sovereign light of truth, and we shall melt together into the love of a conscious brotherhood.

One suggestion, and I leave you. I saw in the cathedral at Lyons, as I passed through that city, a proclamation of the archbishop, calling the faithful to pray for the conversion of England; and I have since heard of a like summons proclaimed at Rome, and in other places, even as far distant as Constantinople. This, I said, is well; it is at least a step in advance of the fulminations that were smoking through the kingdoms, on a former day, against this recusant empire. I only suggest, whether it would not have been a little more modest, if you had summoned your fol-

lowers, instead, to pray, not for the conversion of England to your opinion, but that you and all Christians may be guided into the truth, wherever it is, and there embrace each other in a durable fraternity? Issue now this for your proclamation. Call upon the world to join you, and I will answer for it that all the recusant millions, who roused themselves against you in the days of Luther, will joyfully meet the summons, and a spectacle shall be offered, at which the world, and possibly other worlds may gaze,—all the divided, clashing hosts of Christendom bowed together before God, asking for the truth that shall end their disagreements, and make them one forever.

Pardon me now, if in this letter I have inflicted any unjust wound upon your peace, or spoken aught that savors of personal malignity. You are an aged man, waiting on the shore, and will probably be called to pass over before me. If I would not have you go to lay up accusations against me, I ought as earnestly to hope that you may so discharge the responsibility laid upon you by this letter, as not to be required to accuse yourself.

Yours in the truth,

HORACE BUSHNELL.

London, April 2, 1846.

XII.

CHRISTIAN COMPREHENSIVENESS.*

We are not among those who regard the Christian sects as equivalent to so many schisms. Neither is it necessary, in our view, to the unity of the church that it should be politically one; indeed the polity of the Anglican establishment and that of the American Episcopal Church are as truly separate, one from the other, as the latter from the Congregational polity. As little is it necessary to the unity of Christ's body that the several polities should be similar to each other; for here again it can be shown, beyond a reasonable doubt, that the polity of the Anglican establishment is less resembled, as regards all practical purposes, to that of the American Episcopal Church, than the latter to the Congregational. So if we speak of brotherly love or the unity of the Spirit, it is clear that distinct and dissimilar forms of polity work no necessary detriment. How often indeed is it proved that proximity exasperates disagreements, and that men will only hate each other the more cordially, the

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closer the bond which unites them! Doubtless there is such a thing as schism, divisions that are wrought by evil passions, therefore dishonorable, hurtful, and criminal; and such is the weakness of our nature that there are doubtless vestiges of schism in all Christian bodies. Still it is our privilege, on the whole, and being our privilege, our duty, to regard the Christian sects, not as divisions, but as distributions rather; for it is one of the highest problems of divine government in the church, as in all other forms of society, how to effect the most complete and happy distribution,—such a distribution as will meet all wants and conditions, content the longings, pacify the diversities, and edify the common growth of all. Thus it may be said that the present distribution of the church, abating what is due to causes that are criminal, makes it more completely one; just as an army set off into companies and battalions, some trained to serve as infantry and some as horse, some with artillery and some with the rifle, undergoing each a form of exercise and discipline peculiar to itself, becomes thereby not several and distinct armies, but, because of the orderly distribution made, a more complete and perfect whole, and in the field an engine of greater power, because it unites so many forms of action and bears so many sorts of armor.

At the same time, it is not to be denied that this manifold distribution of the church has its propriety in causes and events that imply a crude state, or a state of only partial development. Therefore, while

we do not regret the distribution, or proclaim it as the public shame of religion, we may well desire a riper state, in which the Christian body shall coalesce more perfectly and draw itself towards a more comprehensive and catholic polity. The work of distribution and redistribution has already gone far enough, as most Christians appear to suppose. We see, indeed, that unity is rising now, as a new ideal, upon the Christian world. They pray for a closer fellowship; they flock together from the ends of the world to consult for unity. A proper and true catholic church is before the mind as an object of longing and secret hope as never before; it is named in distant places and by men who have had no concert, save through the Spirit of God and the spirit of the age. And if these are signs of capacity for a more catholic state, it may also be seen, in the few persons rising up here and there to speak of a more comprehensive faith, or to handle questions of polity and doctrine in a more comprehensive spirit, that there are powers coming into the field which possibly God has trained for the preparation of a new catholic age. Probably never until now has the world been ready to conceive the true idea of a comprehensive Christianity. Nor is it ready now, save in part. The idea itself is yet in its twilight, dimly seen, only by a few,—by none save those who are up to watch for the morning.

Our object, in this article, is to say what we are able of a subject formerly so remote from the world. We confess that, in our own apprehension, we seem rather

to stammer than to speak plainly. Still, as it is by stammering that we learn to speak, we go to our rudimental effort suffering no pride to detain us.

What we mean by comprehensiveness, or a comprehensive Christianity, may be illustrated in part from the manner and teachings of Christ himself, who is the Lord of Christianity. In nothing did Christ prove his superhuman quality more convincingly than by the comprehensiveness of his spirit and his doctrine. He held his equilibrium, flew into no eccentricities, saved what was valuable in what he destroyed, destroyed nothing where it was desirable rather to fulfill than to destroy. It is the common infirmity of mere human reformers that, when they rise up to cast out an error, it is generally not till they have kindled their passions against it. If they begin with reason, they are commonly moved, in the last degree, by their animosities instead of reason. And as animosities are blind, they, of course, see nothing to respect, nothing to spare. The question whether possibly there may not be some truth or good in the error assailed, which is needed to qualify and save the equilibrium of their own opposing truth, is not once entertained. Hence it is that men, in expelling one error, are perpetually thrusting themselves into another, as if unwilling or unable to hold more than half the truth at once. And so if any advance be made, it is wrought out between battles and successive contraries, in which, as society is swayed from side to side, a kind of irregular and desultory progress is

maintained. Thus if any human reformer had risen up to assail the tithings, washings, and other tedious observances of the Pharisees, observances the more easy to regard as odious because the men themselves were odious,—a sanctimonious race of oppressors and hypocrites, who live by farming the public superstitions,—this human reformer would have said: "Away with you hypocrites, and away with your works. Let your tithings go, and if you will do any thing right, come back to the weightier matters of judgment, mercy and faith." This Christ did not say. Detesting the cruelties and base hypocrisies of the sect, as he certainly did, he is yet able to see some benefit in their practices, some truth in their opinions. Therefore he says: "These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone;" comprehending, at once, the exact and the free, the disciplinary and the useful, offerings to God and labors for mankind. And the most remarkable feature in his sermon on the mount is the fact that, while he perfectly transforms the old doctrines and laws, he yet annihilates nothing. "I came not to destroy, but to fulfill, to bring spirit to form, to extend the outward law to the inward thought, to fill out the terms of knowledge and the statutes of duty, but to suffer no jot or tittle of the law to perish." It is by this singular comprehensiveness in the spirit of Christ that the grandeur of his life and doctrine is most of all conspicuous. For by this it was that he set himself in advance, most clearly, of his own and of all subsequent times. With men, if they ever attain

to any thing of a comprehensive aim, it is only in what may be called the second age of the church or society, the historical and critical age. In the first age they see truth; in the second they consider the seeings of others and their import. In the first age they regard the forms of truth as identical with truth itself; therefore they stand every man for his own form, having no choice but to live and die by it, and no thought, perhaps, but to make others live or die by it too. But in the second age, opinions become a subject of comparison, their laws are inquired after, their forms become plastic, and are seen melting into each other. Under contrary forms are found common truths, and one form is seen to be the complement of another,—all forms, we may almost say, the complement of all others. But it was in no such philosophic and critical method that Christ attained to so great comprehensiveness. He found it rather in the native grandeur of his own spirit. Speaking not as a critic, but as a seer, his simple seeing placed him thousands of years in advance of us, under all the lights of history. We seem now to be just beginning to spell out in syllables, and by a laborious criticism, that which Christ seized upon as an original intuition.

But we must enter, if possible, into the more interior merits of our subject. It was given out a few years ago, by the distinguished French philosopher, M. Cousin, that there are in philosophy three possible schools of opinions, which must each have an era to itself: one that begins with the ideal, or absolute; a

second that begins with the empiric or conditional; a third which seeks to adjust the relations of the two, producing an ideal-empiric, or as he would call it, an eclectic school. Besides these three, he declares that it is even impossible to invent another. And the latter of the three he regards as the ripe school, one that will contain the last and fully-matured results of philosophic inquiry. Now as human life lies between the infinite and the finite, as regards thought and the objects of thought, having contact in fact with both, there is certainly a show of truth in the theory offered. The history of opinions too may be made, without any great violence, to yield it a complexion of favor. Still it is easy to show in what manner other and more various oppositions may arise, and how they may be multiplied almost without number. They are in fact so multiplied, both in philosophy and in religious doctrine.

Having it then for our subject, in this article, to investigate, as far as we are able, the causes out of which religious oppositions arise, and to suggest the true remedy, let us, first of all, glance at the methods in which the Christian world fall into so many repugnant attitudes.

Doubtless it is true, in part, as M. Cousin suggests, that many of these repugnances are due to the fact that the *material* of thought is itself divided between what is absolute or ideal, and what is actual or empirical; so that a mind viewing any subject partially, that is from one pole, is likely to conflict

with one viewing it from the other, and both with one who endeavors to view it from both poles at once.

But there are divisions or repugnances, that are due as much to the *incomprehensibility* of the matter of thought, as to the twofold nature of its contents. The matter of thought is infinite in quantity, as well as ideal or empirical in quality. Hence it results that, as the minds of men are finite, they can only pull at the hem of the garment, and must therefore be expected to pull in different ways, accordingly as they fall upon the hem on one side or the other. For as the garment is, to each, nothing but the hem in that part where he has hold of it, he is likely to make up his sect or school according to the view he has. But after long ages of debate, wherein every part of the hem is brought into view, then it is possible certainly for any disciple, who will look through the eyes of *all*, to form to himself some view of it that is broader and more comprehensive.

Then again there are reasons for the rise of repugnant views in thought and religious doctrine, which lie in what may be called the contents of *persons*. For it is not merely the contents of thought, but quite as much the contents of the thinkers, that give birth to contrary opinions and sects. We speak here of personal temperament, or of national temperament, working in the subject; of that which history has produced, or waits to have produced; of impulses, wants, all of which need as much to have their day and be tried, as the subject-matter of thought itself.

For example, the Pelagian doctrine of will or self-supporting virtue, and the Quaker doctrine of quietism, may arise, in no small degree, from varieties of personal temperament. And since temperament is as much a reality as thought itself, what can ever display the manifold forms of a perfect and complete doctrine, unless temperament also is allowed to have its trial? So also prelacy was produced by historic causes, that is, by impulses and sympathies historically prepared. So also of independency or equality. It was something in the convenience of political power, or private ambition, or Christian experience that produced these repugnant methods of organization, and set them in conflict. And now, since they are both set before the mind as exhibited on trial, it is possible to decide with greater confidence on the method most congenial to the Christian scheme; perhaps on a method that combines the excellences of both.

There is yet one more source of repugnant and partial opinion, which is quite as fruitful as the others; namely, *language*. No matter whether we speak of philosophic doctrine or of that which is derived from revelation, every opinion or truth must come into the world and make itself known under the terms of language. And all the processes of ratiocination, under which opinions are generated, are processes that are contained within the laws of language. But language can not convey any truth whole, or by a literal embodiment. It can only show it on one side, and by a figure. Hence a great many shadows, or figures, are

necessary to represent every truth; and hence again, there will seem to be a kind of necessary conflict between the statements in which a truth is expressed. One statement will set forth a given truth or subject-matter under one figure, and a second under another, and a third possibly under yet another. The doctrine of atonement, for example, is offered in Scripture under a great variety of figures, and a history of the doctrine up to this moment consists, in a great degree, of the theologic wars of these figures doing battle each for the supremacy. For as soon as any figure of truth is taken to be the truth itself, and set up to govern all the reasons of the subject by its own contents as a figure, argument itself settles into cant, and cant is enthroned as doctrine. For cant, in rigid definition, is the perpetual chanting or canting of some phrase or figure, as the fixed equivalent of a truth. And hence, as most men who speculate, both in philosophy and religion, are not fully aware of the power of words, or how, if they place a truth under one word in distinction from another, it will assuredly run them into dogmas that are only partially true, successive dogmas in theology or philosophy are perpetually coming upon the stage, and wearing themselves down into cant to die,—in which, though they resemble themselves to the swans, it is yet with a difference; for the swans only sing when they die, but these sing themselves to death. The number of contrary theories that may be gathered round a given subject is limited, of course, only by the number of figures adjacent to it.

Instead, therefore, of the single cause for repugnant, or opposing theories, discovered by M. Cousin, we find as many as four classes of causes; one that lies in the twofold quality of the contents of thought; a second in the infinite quantity of the contents; a third in the contents of persons, including society and history; a fourth in the containing powers of language as an instrument of thought and speculation.

On the whole, it does not appear that the theory of M. Cousin is sufficient. It is less defective as relating to questions of philosophy or philosophic systems, for which it was specially intended, but it is defective even here. For nothing is more certain than that the thoughts and speculations of men are shaped by causes which do not lie in the quality of the subject-matter of thought. Far more extensively true is this in matters of theology or revealed religion, where so much depends on questions of fact or interpretation, —questions that are not determinable by any philosophic or *a priori* method. Still the doctrine he advances that all questions of philosophy lie between two poles or extremes is one that has a vast and almost universal application. So also of his doctrine that, inasmuch as men are after truth and not after falsehood, it may generally be assumed that under all extremes advanced there dwells a truth. And these will hold equally well in matters of theology.

Holding this view, it may seem to follow also, as asserted by M. Cousin, that there can arise about any subject or question only three *schools* of opinion,—the

schools of the extremes, and a third school which undertakes to settle their relation, or comprehend them in a common view. And perhaps there can not in any legitimate way. Still it will be found in historical fact, that men do not always proceed in a legitimate way. Other causes act upon them which do not lie in the subject-matter of inquiry. As we see them in actual controversy, they describe a history which may be well enough represented by the five stages or modes which follow.

First comes up into the light one extreme and, with or without controversy, it is adopted. After a while a second school, looking the dominant opinion or practice in the face, begins to see that there is something wrong or false in it, and rises up as an assailant, to assert the second extreme. Now comes the war between extremes. The parties are certain, both, that they have the truth. They regard each other in their present half-seeing state, as wholly repugnant and contrary. The war goes on therefore, as a war between simple truth and falsehood, which no terms of peace can reconcile, and which permits no issue but one of life or death. Probably the new extreme will prevail, and the old subside into a secondary place.

Meantime, there is likely to appear a neutral school, made up of those who are disposed to peace, and deprecate war, and who cannot escape the feeling that there is something extravagant or excessive, (as there certainly is,) in both the militant schools. These are the moderate men who praise moderate things, the

wooden-headed school, who dread nothing with so great reason as a combustion of any sort. Hence it is the real problem with them to divide distances, and settle themselves down as nearly midway between the poles as possible. Sometimes they are called in derision, "men of the fence," but they call themselves, and more correctly, *neuters*, that is, neithers; for the real study and problem of their school is negative. It is not to find the truth as a positive form and law, but it is simply to find a position halfway between the two schools before them,—to be about as much and about as little one as the other. They are prudent, but not wise. They make a show of candor, without so much as a thought of the truth. But as men grow weary of controversy, and the passions that give zest to it for a time are seen to die out, and give place at last to a sense of disgust; as extremes held singly are seen moreover to bring a sense of defect and weariness by themselves, the neutrals are very likely to get their turn and become the reigning school. The public are sick, why must their ears be stunned by the perpetual din of controversy? So falling into the sick-list of neutrality, one after another, the two schools of the extremes are gradually thinned away and seem about to be forgotten. But for some reason it begins at length to be felt that there is a very peculiar insipidity in this neutral state. There is nothing sufficiently positive in it to waken a resonant feeling in the soul. Plausibilities have taken the place of truths, and the diet is too thin to feed the

blood. After spending thus a whole age or generation midway between somewhere and nowhere, or rather between two somewheres, they begin to feel that neutralities, after all, are more sickening than controversies, and they are willing, possibly, to go back and resume the old quarrel of the extremes, if it is only for the health of the exercise.

There is also what is sometimes called a liberal school, which differs widely from the neutral, as having aims of a more generous quality. For while the timorous neutral is engaged to settle his position midway between extremes, the liberal is extending an equal indulgence to both. The former is moved by prudence to himself, the latter by charity to others. The virtue of one is moderation, that of the other tolerance. One lets go the truth to consult distances, the other admits that possibly we are all too distant from the truth and see it too dimly to be over positive concerning it. Now most of the arguments and motives to liberality are of a reasonable and generous quality, and where the liberal spirit is connected with a rigid and earnest devotion to truth, it is a condition of health to itself and a mark of respect to others. But how easy is it to be indulgent to others, if first we are indifferent to the truth! And if liberality itself is made to be the virtue and hung up as the flag of a school, it is very sure to prove itself, ere long, to be anything but a virtue. Or if still it be called by that name, it will show itself to be the most unilluminated, most impotent and insipid of all virtues.

Having no creed, in fact, save that other men shall be welcome to theirs,—earnest in nothing save in vindicating the right of others to be earnest, counting it charity not to be anxious for the truth, but to be patient with all error, smiling indulgently upon all extremes, not caring how the truth may fare between them,—the liberal school makes a virtue of negation, and freezes itself in the mild and gentle temperature it has mistaken for charity. The word *liberal* is in fact a negative word; there is nothing positive in it. And as words are powerful, no body of men, however earnest at the beginning, can long rally under this word as a flag, without making it a sacrament of indifference, and subsiding thus into a state which involves a disrespect to all the sacred rights of truth. But as life cannot long be endured where earnestness is lost, so the liberalist will begin, ere long, to feel that his supposed charity does not bless him. And now he will gird himself again for war, seize upon some post and fortify it, and though it do not cover a half-acre of ground, he will swear to die fighting for something as better than possessing nothing.

Having now the schools above-named before us: first the schools of the extremes with their wars; then the neutral or the liberal school or both, succeeding and bringing in an age of dearth that cannot longer be supported; we may see how a fifth school rises to complete the cycle and gather unto the truth her own true catholic brotherhood. There rises up now a man, or a few men, who looking again at the two extreme

schools, begin to ask whether it is not possible to comprehend them; that is to receive, hold, practice all which made the extreme opinions true to their disciples? The very thought gives compass or enlargement to the soul in which it is conceived. It ascends, as it were, to a higher position to look down upon the strifes of the race and use them as the material of its exercise, conveniences to its own final establishment and victory. In this effort to comprehend extremes, it offers no disrespect, but the highest respect rather, to the great and earnest spirits that have stood for the truth and fought her battles, giving them all credit for their courage and devotion, and considering them, in fact, as the right and left wings of the field which it now remains to include in one and the same army. It is in fact a disciple of the extremes, taking lessons of both, and ceasing not till it has gotten whatever good and whatever truth made their opinions sacred to themselves. In the endeavor to comprehend extremes, it comprehends also both the views of the neutral and the liberal schools. The neutral was sure that there was some extravagance, some defect of equilibrium in the extremes, and this he thought to restore by dividing distances and holding neither. The comprehensive school restores it by holding both and bringing both to qualify and moderate each other. The liberal saw charity perishing in the earnest battle of the extremes, and required of itself a more indulgent spirit. The comprehensive school finds not only a defect of charity, but what is more,

a real ground for charity, in the fact that both extremes are only standing for the two poles of truth; earnest because they have the truth, and only quarreling because they have not breadth enough to see that they are one. In the comprehensive school it will be a first conviction that all serious, earnest men have something in their view which makes it truth to them; therefore that all serious, earnest men, however repugnant in their words, have yet some radical agreement, and if the place can be found, will somewhere reveal their brotherhood. Therefore they are not only to tolerate, but to love and respect each other. Nay, they are each to ask, what has the other which is necessary to its own completeness in the truth? And thus the comprehensive school, finding its liberality in the higher pursuit of the truth, will have it not as a negation, had exercise it not as a sacrament of indifference. It will be moderate without pursuing moderation, liberal without pursuing liberality, both because it follows after the truth, giving heed to all earnest voices, and bowing as a disciple to all her champions.

It is not our design, in giving out this distribution of schools, to place them all upon an equal footing. The first two and the last, the two extreme or partisan schools and the comprehensive school *must* appear in their order; they constitute the necessary conditions of mental progress in the truth, and truth can not find a complete and full development without them. The other two, the neutral and the liberal, *do*

appear casually or incidentally, and often hold an important figure in the real history of sects and opinions, and no sufficient view of the actual history of opinions can be given without some reference to them. They may both be regarded, perhaps, as spurious modes of the comprehensive school, actuated by some dim and undiscovered sense of the fact that there is, doubtless, a higher, broader truth, which, if it were known, would reveal an aspect of extravagance in the partisan strifes of the world. In this view, they may be looked upon as rudimental efforts preparatory to the development of a true comprehensiveness. And therefore the proper dignity of a comprehensive effort, guided by intelligent convictions and fixed laws of criticism, could not appear without some notice of the contrast between it and them.

Having it for our design, in this article, to recommend the comprehensive spirit in religion, we are tempted, first of all, to speak of it as related to character itself; for this is the radical interest of the subject, and the illustrations we may offer here will be familiar to all our readers, even to those who are unexercised in the higher abstractions of theology.

The endeavor to comprehend all antagonisms and hold the just equilibrium of truth is the highest and most ingenuous that a human soul can propose; one that God only can perfectly realize. Yet whosoever has but conceived such a thought gives some evidence therein of a resemblance to God, and he is, according to the measure of his success, a truly great character.

A comprehensive character is, in fact, the only really great character possible among men. And being that which holds the fullest agreement and sympathy with God, it is one, we are persuaded, that is specially valued and cherished by him. We shall find also by inspection, that all the defective modes of character in Christian men are due to the fact that some partial, or partisan view of duty sways their demonstrations. Sometimes one extreme is held, sometimes the other, and accordingly we shall see that, excepting cases where there is a fixed design to brave the laws of all duty, the blemished characters go in pairs.

Thus one man abhors all prejudice, testifies against it night and day, places all his guards on the side opposite, and as prejudgments of some kind are the necessary condition of all judgments, it results, of course, that he falls into an error quite as hurtful and more weak, ceasing to have any fixed opinion, or to hold manfully any truth whatever. Another, seeing no evil but in a change of opinions, holds his opinions by his will and not by his understanding. And as no truth can penetrate the will, he becomes a stupid and obstinate bigot, standing for truth itself, as if it were no better than falsehood.

There is a class of Christians who specially abhor a scrupulous religion. It is uncomfortable, it wears a superstitious look, and therefore they are moved to assert their dignity by venturing out occasionally on acts or exhibitions that are plainly sinful. And then when they return to their duty, which they are quite

certain finally to omit, they consent to obey God, not because of the principle, but because of the importance of the occasion! In expelling all scruples, they have made an exile of their consciences. A man at the other extreme will have it for his religion to be exact in all the items of discipline, and will become so conscientious about mint, anise, and cummin, that no conscience will be left for judgment, or mercy, or even for honesty.

Some persons are all for charity, meaning by the term a spirit of allowance towards the faults and crimes of others. Christ they say commands us not to judge; but they do not observe that there are things which we can see without judging and which, as they display their own iniquity, ought to be condemned in the severest terms of reprobation. Charity will cover a multitude of sins,—not all. The dearest and truest charity will uncover many. Opposite to such, we have a tribe of censorious Christians, who require us to be bold against sin, who put the harshest constructions on all conduct, scorching and denouncing as surely as they speak. If they could not find some sin to denounce, they would begin to have a poor opinion of their own piety. These could not even understand the Saviour, when he says, "neither do I condemn thee."

Some Christian professors are so particularly pleased with a cheerful spirit, and so intent on being cheerful Christians themselves, that they even forget to be Christians at all. They are light enough, free enough;

the longitude of face they so much dread is effectually displaced. Indeed the godly life, prayer, sobriety itself, are all too sombre for their kind of piety. Opposed to these we have an austere school, who object to all kinds of relaxation, and have even some scruples about smiling. A hearty laugh is an act of positive ungodliness. They love to see the Christian serious at all times. Their face is set as critically as the surveyor's needle, or they carry it as nicely as they would carry a full vessel. But there is a certain measure of sourness in all human bosoms, which if it can not be respited by smiles, becomes an active leaven. The face that was first serious changes to a vinegar aspect, and this reacts to sour the sourness of nature, till finally it will be found that the once amiable person has become nervous, acrid, caustic, and thoroughly disagreeable.

We have a class of disciples who appear to sum up all duty in self-examination. They spend their lives in examining and handling themselves. They examine themselves till they are selfish, and extinguish all the evidences for which they look. They inspect and handle every affection till they have killed it, and become so critical, at length, that no feeling of the heart will dare venture out, lest it should not be able to stand scrutiny. Another class have it for a maxim never to doubt themselves. "Let us do our duty," they say, "and God will take care of us." So they delve on, confident, presumptuous, ignorant of themselves, guarded against no infirmity. But they might

about as well do nothing in the name of duty, as to go on with a spirit so ill regulated, and if they knew it, so very nearly wicked.

There is a class of disciples who especially love prudence. It is the cardinal virtue. They dread, of course, all manifestations of feeling, which is the same as to say that they live in the absence of feeling; for our feelings are the welling up of the soul's waters, the kindling of its fires, when no jealousy is awake to suppress them. If they are watched, they retreat to their cell,—joy, love, hope, pity, fear,—a silent, timorous brood that dare not move. The prudential man becomes thus a man of ice, or, since the soul is borne up and away to God only on the wings of feeling, sinks into a state of dull negation. Then we have another class who detest the trammels of prudence, and are never in their element save when they are rioting in emotion. But as the capacity of feeling is limited, it comes to pass in a few days that what they had is wholly burnt to a cinder. Then as they have a side of capacity for bad feeling still left, new signs will begin to appear. As the raptures abate and the high symptoms droop, a kind of despair begins to lower, a faint chiding also is heard, then a loud rail, then bitter deprecations and possibly imprecations too; charges are leveled at individuals, arrows are shot at the mark, and the volcanic eructations thrown up at the sky are proofs visible and audible of the fierce and devilish heat that rages within. This is fanaticism, a malicious piety, kindling its wrath by prayer and holy rites.

In these examples we have brought into view extremes that are furnished principally out of the contents of persons. How manifest is it that each of these extremes, embracing its opposite, would rest in a balanced equilibrium on the two poles of duty, and be itself the wiser and the holier for that which is now its mischief and its overthrow!

There are other classes of extremes affecting the character, which are more speculative in their nature. What endless wars have we between the school of reason and the school of faith. But the truly enlarged disciple will somehow manage to comprehend both, considering it to be the highest reason to believe, and the highest faith to reason. One man places virtue in action, another in feeling. Possibly it is in a moral standing of the soul to which it ascends between both,—action inspired by feeling, feeling realized by action,—thus in the moral liberty of the whole man. One class consider Christian piety to be a Godward and devotional habit. Another class are equally sure that God is pleased with us when we do our duties to our fellow-men. Thus we have pietism or quietism on one side, and philanthropy on the other. But the comprehensive word commands us to do justly, to love mercy, *and* to walk humbly with God; to love God and through him love our brother, to love our brother and to see therein that we love God. Some are justified by faith, some by works. But as faith without works is dead, and works without faith are equally so, there are some who prefer to show their faith by

their works, and quicken their works by faith, and thus to be alive in both. There is also a school of legalists, and a school of spiritualists. The former live without liberty, the latter without law. But the true Christian soul is free in the law; for it is the art of love to hold a soul under discipline, and beguile it still of all sense of constraint. Some resolve all duty into self-interest. Others are equally sure that all self-interest is criminal. Possibly self-interest may offer motives that will bring the soul up unto God and prepare it to such thoughts that it will freely love God and duty for their own sake, and thus go above self-interest. So one person is for experience, another for habits; one for sentiments, another for principles. But God is comprehensive, working all in all, only by diverse operations. A large body of Christians insist on a perfectly uniform exercise in religion. Another body are for new scenes and high demonstrations. But God, consulting both for uniformity and diversity, perfers to bring us on towards one by means of the other.

So in all the possible views or aspects of Christian character, you will come nearest to what is great and Christlike, if you seek to unite whatever repugnant extremes are before you,—to be modest and yet bold; conciliatory and yet inflexible; patient in suffering, sharp in rebuke: deferential to all men, independent of all; charitable towards the erring, severe against the error; at once gentle and rigid, catholic and exclusive, all things to all men, and one thing only to

yourself. The more numerous and repugnant the extremes of character, excepting those which are sinful, you are able to unite in one comprehensive and harmonious whole, the more finished and complete your character will be.

We have dwelt thus largely on illustrations derived from the department of practical character, because the tendency of mankind to assume opposite poles or extremes is here so conspicuous, and a matter so familiar to observation. Our design is to get color, in this matter, for the more difficult branch of our subject yet remaining. Man is not one being in the practical life, and another in the intellectual or speculative. Indeed there is no precise line of distinction between matters of practice and matters of opinion; for practice molds opinion, and opinion practice. And it will be found that in all the contrarieties of character just set forth, the contrariety observed is due to the fact that character and duty are seen at opposite poles, and shaped in this manner by opposite opinions.

Passing on now to matters of faith and doctrine, we shall see the same only more distinctly. And as all the extremes of practice go by pairs, so we shall find that sects and dogmas are set off in pairs about given points, and fighting each for its own opinion or pole, and thus that all the Christian sects stand to represent, in some sense, all the Christian truths. Which, if we can manage to comprehend, as we know they are acknowledged and comprehended by Christ in

the unity of his own body, then we shall complete ourselves in Christian doctrine, and realize the idea of a true Christian catholicity.

We do not, of course, maintain that there is no error in the Christian sects. A want of catholicity or comprehensiveness is itself error. To see any thing partially, or at one pole, is to see it insufficiently, thus in defective forms and proportions. Thus all sects and schools hold mixtures of error created by only half seeing what they see. Besides they are all instigated, in part, by evil passions and blinded by false prejudices, so that they not only fall into error by half seeing, but sometimes by wrong seeing also. Still it will generally be found, if we set ourselves to a careful scrutiny of the tenet or opinion which is distinctive in a given sect or school, that there is some real truth in it, however repugnant at first view to us; something which makes it true to the school, and the school earnest in maintaining it. As a matter of fact too, we have almost never seen a dogma advanced by any body of men, however monstrous, which, if it were dissolved and viewed in its contents historically, would not yield some important truth.

Thus among the first efforts of the church to frame a doctrine of atonement, the death of Christ is often represented, and especially by Irenæus and Origen, as as a ransom paid to the devil. No representation probably could be more abhorrent, when taken on its face, to the feelings of all modern Christians. But if we can have patience to withhold our judgment

long enough to take down the drapery of the language, or dissolve its figures, thus to separate the real truth of feeling they may have received, under a form of dogma so abhorrent to our speculative views of the subject; in a word, if we can accurately conceive their historic state of mind, when advancing this rude theory of atonement, the first which unilluminated reason had produced, we shall find no difficulty in allowing that they held a warm and living truth, under a form so badly misshapen.

No doctrine is sooner rejected, or more derided for its absurdity, than the doctrine of the real presence. But when taken with all the negations added in regard to the sensible form of the elements in the supper, it would be difficult to show that anything more is left than what every believing Christian ought to admit, viz., that the recipient of the supper is to meet therein a grace which is above sensation, and feast himself in the participation of the divine nature. Out of this great truth of the presence passing into a human philosophy, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and of a sacrifice, probably grew. The injuriousness of the doctrine is due, not to the fact that it contains no truth, but to the fact rather, that the disciple is likely to be confused and astounded as before a miracle wrought by the priest, and thus to miss of the truth. The exaggeration or over-statement smothers the truth contained. Meantime, is it not also possible, that the Protestant often misses the same truth under the doctrine of Zwingle? He comes, we will suppose,

to do an act, to use a symbol that will assist him to remember his Lord? But if he is wholly occupied with his own act, there is no communion. He is only magnetizing himself. Communion implies reciprocity; and if he may not and does not receive the real Christ, there is no reciprocity. If therefore, Christ does not offer himself there to be received by a presence above sensation, or if the disciple does not believe it, then he is blinded by his rationalism as the Romanist by his superstition. Two things are necessary to the Christian idea of the supper. An act of reception which is an act of faith, and a matter to be received which is a matter offered to faith. If the Romanist omits the faith, how often, both in practice and also in theory, does the Protestant omit the matter of faith! When both poles are united, when Christ the matter of faith is offered to faith, and faith receives the matter offered, then is the Lord's body discerned.

The Quaker doctrine of an inner light, however derided, contains a great and sublime truth. And if it be taken as antagonistic to the doctrine that all true knowledge is derivable to the soul through sense, whether as occupied with nature, or instructed by revelation, it might be difficult to say which is nearer to the truth. If one nullifies the word, the other nullifies the soul as the candle of the Lord. If the world is dark without Christ, so if the light that is in us be darkness, how great is that darkness, even having Christ before us! Without the inner light revelation cannot certify its truth; for there is

nothing in the soul to measure and discriminate truth. Without revelation visiting the soul from without, or through the senses and the understanding, the inner light of conscience and reason is provoked to no distinct announcement of itself. There is a divine Word in the soul's own nature, but it shineth in darkness and is not comprehended till the Word becomes flesh and is represented historically without. And even then the natural man discerneth not the things of the Spirit, until the inner life of the soul is quickened to perceptiveness by the inbreathing of God. The Quaker and the Scripturalist therefore are both right and both wrong; right in what they assert, wrong in what they deny. Unite the positive contents of both, and we have the Christian doctrine.

The same may be said, in substance, regarding the Absolute Religion of Theodore Parker; for this is only a modified Quakerism, a Quakerism whose inspiration lies in natural ideas and instincts, and not, to any extent, in spiritual gifts. Nor is any thing more true than that the soul is constituted for religion, much as he has represented. It is a great and divine truth also, one that revelation itself presupposes and actually affirms. But if Mr. Parker had taken pains to inquire why God has set us in a sphere of sensation amid objects of knowledge and scenes of experience, why he did not make us mere absolutes ourselves in a world of geometries and bare intellectualities, he might have been led to suspect that the same reasons which determined to this, might require also historic

revelations and even miracles. For if it be needful to live in a phenomenal world, if the absolutes of the soul are nothing worth, until they are brought forth into actual discourse, and represented and mirrored in the objects and scenes of experience; if seeing and hearing, trial and work, are wanted to assist the absolute religion, why may not a Divine Word in the flesh be as needful as a Divine Word in the world? At the same time, Mr. Parker is not to be answered by denying the religious nature of the soul. If the soul were not a religious nature, the historic Word would be worthless; and so, without the historic Word, the religious nature, as a glance at the nations of mankind abundantly shows, will only baffle itself in its sins and become a blinded and bewildered instinct.

Many persons are inexpressibly shocked by the Calvinistic dogma of unconditional election and reprobation, or of absolute decrees. But if they could suspend their mind long enough to sound its depths and measure its real contents, they would find a great and holy truth enveloped in it, one that is even fundamental to God's empire, and necessary to the highest power of his government over souls, the same which has given to Calvinism a religious energy so peculiar. If it be understood that God enters into the actual historical world of men to pick out, unconditionally, one for life and another for death, there is abundant reason to be shocked by such a doctrine. But if we go above the actual to contemplate God before the foundation of the world, as dealing with intelligibles,

or possibles, perusing systems of possibles, fore-knowing them and their contents, not as actual, or historical, but as intelligible; then instituting, or by a fiat of will actualizing the best and wisest, we shall see that, in putting that best system on foot, he has made it certain that all the contents of the system will emerge historically in due time. He has done it by an absolute unconditional decree; for if he had not put the system on foot, nothing in it would ever become a historical fact. And having done so, every thing in it will, and he will not be disappointed. What he saw in the intelligible will emerge in the historical, exactly as he saw it. But not so as to exclude conditions in the actual. For the intelligible system he selected was a system linked together by innumerable causes and relations; comprising activities to be exerted by himself, laws pronounced, works of grace performed, acts and choices of the subjects as they, in their own freedom or self-activity, would determine; results of character and destiny, such as his own good activity, and theirs, both good and evil, would produce. And here is the great truth of Calvinism. Having this intelligible system before him, with all its ingredients, conditions, and results, God by an absolute decree institutes the system; which is the same as to say that whatsoever it contains will come to pass,—come to pass, that is, under the conditions, so as not to infringe upon the responsibility of any subject, and so as to justify him and his goodness in all. In this grand truth of Calvinism, God's WILL becomes a reality. The world is felt to be in his hands. He asks no leave to reign.

He reigns not blindly, or as a being baffled by unknown contingencies. Trembling before his sovereignty, we find it still a benign sovereignty, a rock of confidence and love. Unable to ascend above the actual and historical, the Arminian sees no other way to save the conditions of freedom and just responsibility, but to deny a truth so essential to God's government. Probably the Calvinist, equally unable to get above the actual, asserts his doctrine of divine will and unconditional decrees, as holding under and within the sphere of actual history. One destroys the government of God, the other makes him a tyrant. And yet they are both asserting great and fundamental truths. Unite the Arminian and the Calvinist, comprehend both doctrines, and we have the Christian truth.

In these illustrations, it has been our object to show that, in dogmas regarded with the utmost repugnance, there is generally to be found some important truth, if only we have patience to look for it. In the same illustrations, we have also advanced the general purpose we have in hand, viz., to show that all the Christian truths stand in opposites, or extremes that need to be comprehended. That something of this kind is true in matters of natural science is known to all. In the astronomic forces, in the chemical resolution of substances, in light and electricity, we discover nature lying between her poles, and science becoming a doctrine when it comprehends them both. And in this, we have only a symbol of what relates to mind and spirit, the doctrine of man and the doctrine of God.

Accordingly, the first thing to be done in theology is to reveal the poles, or the repugnant forms of truth. In all matters of moral judgment or intellectual opinion, there must be something in the nature of controversy to prepare the way. The elements to be combined or comprehended will thus be brought to light, and set up as distinct objects of contemplation. Then the man or the teacher that follows, holding himself aloof from the controversy, and looking calmly on as a spectator to ask, what do these combatants mean? what great truth have they each in mind for which they are doing battle? will almost uniformly find that they have one, which is some how reconcilable with the opposite. Accordingly, there is no one who has so great advantage, in arriving at the truth, as he who follows after a controversy, if only he has the independence of mind, and the implicit love of truth, necessary to improve his position.

Our churches, for example, have been recently agitated by a warm and earnest controversy in reference to the doctrine of spiritual regeneration. Ask what the antagonist parties are after, and it will be found that one is after the truth of divine agency and spiritual dependence, the other after the liberty and responsibility of the subject. In this case neither of the parties intends to deny what the other really wishes to maintain. Both assert our dependence, both our ability; but one a dependence which to the other destroys all ability; one an ability which to the other destroys all dependence. Never was there a

better opportunity to settle the true comprehensive doctrine on this difficult subject, than when such a controversy going before has set up in full view the antagonistic elements to be united. But if we are to use the advantage offered, we must not be in haste to enroll ourselves as disciples or partisans. We must ascend to a higher and calmer position, where we may see at once all the material offered us, and use it as material to be comprehended in a single view or doctrine. Then possibly we may find that a soul under the bondage of evil is able to renew himself in good in and through dependence, able to work because God worketh in him. It will not be said that he has a natural ability which means nothing, nor a natural ability which means that he can do all by himself. It will not be found that God must dispense an ictic grace *before* he can put forth any right motion, which absolves the sinner from any attempt; nor that he can regenerate himself, and is dependent on God only by consent or courtesy. But it will be seen that he *can* do nothing out of God, any thing in God.

In the great question put in issue by the Unitarians concerning the Trinity, or the nature of God, it is difficult in a single paragraph to indicate the true comprehensive doctrine. But we are ready to express our firm conviction that the Unitarians will not be found to have stood forth in the maintenance of a pure error, when insisting on the strict unity of God. There was a kind of Trinity maintained, and still is by many, which amounts to a practical triplicity, and

breeds a mental confusion in the worshiper, that is both painful and hurtful. For this there was no remedy but to assert the absolute unity of the divine nature, and the position here assumed is impregnable. No doctrine of Trinity that infringes upon this can ever be maintained. Does it therefore follow, since God is one, that there is no conceivable tripersonality which can be vindicated? Others may thus judge, but for ourselves we have no difficulty in perceiving either the meaning or the practical need of such a doctrine. For if there be a practical confusion in the triplicity held by many, there is a practical impotence in the bald philosophic unity and its representations, when rigidly adhered to, that is even more injurious to the life of religion. While our Unitarian friends, therefore, are reposing in all confidence on their impregnable doctrine of the divine unity, it becomes them to remember that if they are not reasoned out of it they may yet be frozen out, which is quite as bad. For without a Trinity subjective to us and filling the forms of the mind, God is necessarily distant, unconversable, and without any adequate warmth to sustain our religious vitality. Of this we feel quite as sure as we do of God's objective unity. If in saying this we seem to speak enigmatically, it is all we can say at present. We only express, in addition, our confident belief in the possibility of a doctrine that shall comprehend all which the Christian world, on both sides of this great question, are contending for. For it would be singular, a philosophic anomaly passing be-

lief, that all Christendom should have been standing for so many centuries, for that which, after all, is a pure phantasm, or hallucination. It is not in mankind to go after naked error in this way. Even when they stumble worst, it will be found that they have yet some semblance of truth.

In the question of old and new, perpetually recurring in matters of religion, we have the bigot on one side asserting that nothing may be new, and the radical on the other, that nothing shall be old. And if Christianity be a vital power in the church, both are true; for the new must be the birth of the old, and the old must have its births, or die. The future must be of the past, and the past must create a future. And which is more violent, to make a future identical with the past, or to make a future separate from the past, it may be difficult to say. We shall commonly settle on the right view, when we have schooled down the bigot and the radical, and compelled them to coalesce in some common result. And this Lord Bacon has done most happily, in his masterly, comprehensive maxim, when he says: "We are the real antiquity." For in this he affirms both that all the wealth of antiquity is accumulated upon us, and that we have it as material out of which to make a future. If we cast off the lessons of antiquity, we are not wise. If we allow ourselves to be the mere ducts of antiquity, supposing that antiquity is to repeat itself in us, we are not wise. But we are wise only when we take note of the past, observe it carefully, study it respectfully, cor-

rect ourselves by its wisdom and its errors, and apply it to fortify our own free judgment and use.

Nearly related to this is the question of church authority and of private judgment. Doubtless there is just so much authority in the decisions of the past as private judgment can reasonably accept. More there cannot be. For to what do the advocates of church authority appeal, but to private judgment? They ask us, in fact, to give up private judgment, by an act of private judgment; in which it will be perceived they set open the whole question. And what do we, on the other side, in asserting private judgment, but allow it for granted, that there are reasons and authorities under which we are to judge? Unless then we intend to say that the decisions and opinions of past ages, or of all ages, are to have no weight in determining questions, and are never to turn the scales of evidence, there must be cases where we are concluded by authority of the past. And how far different is this from an appeal to private judgment, in favor of accepting all the past? For, if there be any one article of the past which it cannot accept, then it must be rejected under the question of giving up our private judgment, precisely as if it were cited only as an evidence offered to private judgment. True, it is maintained, on one side, that the church of the past has been illuminated by the Holy Spirit, so as to judge rightly; but this again can be decided only by an appeal to private judgment; and if the advocates of church authority could allow a truth so

manifest, their difficulty with the advocates of private judgment would soon be over. The sound reality of the question would then be stated, and our passions would not be smoking round a mock question that, having no significance, admits no settlement. Now we have it before us, on one side, to shut our eyes, and accept the law of the past, which, if we do, we use our will to sacrifice our understanding, which is the most unmanly and basest kind of thralldom. Then, on the other, seeing that a tyrant is set up, who requires us first of all to put out our own eyes, we rebel, we even scout his impudent usurpations. So we have, on one hand, men who have lost their liberty; on the other, men who have lost their reverence. One class have their souls entombed under church authority. The other torn from the past are living as vagrant atoms in the open spaces of time, till the hunger of inanity and isolation kills them. Piety to the past that is a free and filial deference, a rational and dutiful love, is the common want of both. Let the slave become a son, the libertine a son, the past a mother to both, and the quarrel is ended.

We might go on with illustrations of this kind, till a great multitude of the controverted doctrines of Christianity are seen yoked with their opposites, in friendly embrace, pantheism with theism, absolute religion with revealed religion, supralapsarianism with sublapsarianism, absolute decrees with self-active freedom, salvation by grace with salvation by works, inability with ability, natural depravity with natural

innocence, the bondage of sin with the freedom of the sinner. In all these repugnances, we have only the two poles of truth, which if we can manage to comprehend in one and the same mental view, we arrive at the proper integrity of the Christian doctrine. Indeed we may lay it down as true, in general, that all the Christian sects, in all their manifold repugnances of doctrine, are only concerned to exhibit the great elemental truths of Christianity. They all have errors, they all partially mistake, as it is human to do, and yet they all have some form of truth to maintain, which, when it is viewed comprehensively, and carefully distinguished under the forms of language, will fall into the same great scheme of Christian doctrine and assist to fill out the body thereof. So that when a man is able to comprehend the reality of all sects, casting away the unreality, he will be a full-grown proper Christian man.

Dismissing here subjects of doctrine, we go on to speak of polities and organizations. Polities are not so much essential truths or doctrines, as means to ends. They embody each some practical aim or idea, and offer each some valuable contribution to the comprehensive church of the future. Whether they will ever coalesce in any practical unity or mutual acknowledgment of each other, bringing in their treasures to enrich the common body, many will doubt; but if a hope so beautiful must be renounced as visionary, we shall easily convince ourselves, by a study of their contents, that they have each some kind of

wealth which makes their existence valuable, even now, to the world. Or if some of them have no longer a sufficient reason for the maintenance of a distinct existence, it is only because they have already emptied their treasures into the world's history. Possibly such an opinion may sometime be held of them all; for it may be that they are all designed to serve only temporary uses. And then, when they have all emptied themselves into history, and history contains the product of all, what forbids that a new church may emerge that shall comprehend the uses of all?

And if any such result is ever to appear, where sooner than here in these United States? Why else are we thrown together in this manner,—Christians of all names and sects, living in the same neighborhoods, fellow-citizens under the same laws, holding equal terms before the laws, united in business, intermarried in families? No such spectacle as this has ever been exhibited before, since Christianity entered the world; and yet it seems to be the design of God that it shall, ere long, be so in all the other nations of mankind. The extension of liberty must bring the same results to pass everywhere. It seems to be God's purpose that all these multiform sects and polities shall either dissolve each other and lodge their contents at last in a grand comprehensive unity, or else wear themselves into similar shapes by their mutual attrition. And how else could a properly catholic state, which is the hope of us all, be constructed?

Forecasting such a possibility, let us glance at some of the sects and take a survey of their contents. And we begin with the Baptists, because they seem, in their very distinction as a sect, to stand for that which can never be accepted; for there is not the least probability, however confidently they may expect it themselves, that the whole church of God will, at any future time, become Baptists. How then, it will be asked, can they ever come into any comprehensive state without renouncing that which alone gives them a distinct existence? But the question implies a view of the Baptist sect, whether held by themselves or by others, which is superficial and does not do them justice. Their real office, as a sect, does not lie in the fact that they are Baptists, but in that which makes them Baptists. And the fact is of little consequence in distinguishing the sect, save as it indicates a deeper and more significant cause in their character. Taken as a class, the Baptists are the Christian impracticables (not using the word in an evil sense), individualists of the highest and most perfect degree. They are each a kind of church by himself, holding his minutest convictions as stern, immovable fatalities. They are the intolerants, so to speak, of individualism; sacrificing to it communion and submerging under it, to a great degree, the social instinct itself. Assuming such a position, they stand off in solemn antagonism, against the intolerance of all social constraints, in church and state. Such manifestly are the men to be foremost in asserting the sacred rights

of the conscience. They did it in England, they did it here, they have done it everywhere. And now, at this present moment, nothing is wanted in Rome itself, and in all the nations still lying under ecclesiastical oppression, so much as the rising up of a race of stern individualists, or impracticables like the Baptists. In this view they have filled a noble office. They represent, in the most naked form, that which is the distinction of modern history,—the full recognition of the individual man and the consequent sanctification of his rights and liberties.

And this we may say is the real truth of the sect, the practical idea which measures its value. This being accomplished among any given people, there is no longer any sufficient reason for its continued existence. And when the antagonism which gave it value and life is completely routed, we may reasonably doubt whether the anti-social or impracticable spirit of the sect will not ultimately take away its own vitality. Indeed we seriously doubt whether a community wholly made up of Baptists could be molded into any settled and permanent form of social order, whether in church or state. They would fly asunder, just as now they withdraw from one another, constituting already as many as fifteen or twenty distinct sects. They are too unreducible, too much given to their individuality, to melt into any solid form of social unity. Besides, it is sure to be discerned also, as their mental breadth increases, that the mere question of baptism is one of too small consequence to make any dignified

reason for the existence of a sect. It will be wonderful too, if it does not sometime appear unchristian to many to forswear the communion of the whole Christian world for a pretext so slender. Possibly it may also be discerned that the reasonings applied to disprove the baptism of children are against the spirit of the gospel, against nature, hurtful to the family, hurtful to the church, proceeding from an exaggerated individualism which takes away the Christian zest of life as a social ordinance, unsanctifies the homes and reduces humanity itself, having Christ incarnate in its bosom, to a collection of dry and repellent atoms.

The practical idea embodied in Congregationalism or Independency is different, though its history is, in some respects, parallel. It is less individual than the Baptist sect and more so than the Presbyterian. And, in common with all the forms of Puritanism, it is too abhorrent of the past, too completely severed in feeling from the past, owing to the fact that it took its being in a contest for the right to reform the errors of the past. Considered as a distinct form of polity, it stands for equality ; not that equality which belongs to separate atoms, but a *social* equality. It denies all priestly dignities, and suffers no lords over the heritage of God. It makes the church a brotherhood, equal to the work of self-government, and responsible for the maintenance of its own order. Free toleration, liberty of conscience, it was sure to accept in due time, but it was too much intent at the first on

social ends to invent the doctrine. Its instinct was to organize a social state,—IT MUST BUILD. Hence it had no thought but that the elements must coalesce, and if they refused there was no place for them. The fathers said they would have a free church and a free commonwealth, but it was to be free only to themselves. In their doctrine of equality, there was a germ of true religious liberty, but it was only a germ and time must unfold it. But, going forward under the impulse of a strong constructive instinct, the new sect laid its foundations, built itself up into a solid republican order, and became the type of all that is distinctive in our institutions. Taken as a constructive power, it is to the Baptists what Massachusetts is to Rhode Island, or rather to what Rhode Island was in the social confusion of a former age. Wanting originally in that which gave its practical value to the Baptist sect, it supplied an element which in that was deficient. Both are Congregational, but one has furnished the antagonistic spirit of liberty, the other its constructive social powers. One therefore has filled a more occasional office, the other a more permanent. For if Congregationalism dies and the name is lost, no frame of polity in church or state can hope for a general prevalence which rejects the constructive powers of American history.

Presbyterianism is substantially one with it, in this respect,—a younger brother in our history, who has acted, for the most part, in conjunction with the elder, assisting the same results. Methodism has partially accepted

the same principles of equality and self-government. It acknowledges no priesthood. The laity have an operative sphere and are sure, at length, to have a joint right in the government. Even American Episcopacy has sought to combine with prelacy a lay power which represents the constructive basis of our institutions. The whole American church must some time do the same. Indeed there is a philosophic necessity that the comprehensive church of the future, if ever it shall appear, should conform to the constructive law of our institutions. Whether it have one order, or three; whether it be distributed into parishes or diocesan circles; it must be a brotherhood, officered by itself. The phantom of a priestly succession, distinct from the succession of the brotherhood of grace, a superstition cherished with so great industry in England, as the last hope of a priestly fabric outlawed by time, can never get possession of this nation. The constructive law of our history is against it, and it is a shadow too thin to battle with a force of so great solidity. Our philosophy can never accept it and it is too late in the day for a flat superstition to palm itself on the earnest belief of a nation like this. Not one in fifty of the Episcopal sect in this country earnestly believes it now. Many adhere to the sect in spite of it, and for reasons of a higher and manlier character.

We have barely touched upon the Methodist polity, but it gives a beautiful illustration, in its history, of a very important truth, viz., that any organization formed with a godly purpose, and a desire to promote

holiness of life and effectiveness in action, will be consecrated by Providence and perpetuated as a true church. Methodism was not organized as a church, but as an abnormal order in the church of England. It proposed, not to call out a dissenting body from the establishment, but to hold a position auxiliary to it; to stimulate its piety, supply its defects, repair the desolations left behind it by its heedless and worldly ministry. A more disinterested aim never actuated any human society. And such has been its efficiency, so manifest the good fruits it has yielded, that it has been obliged, as it were, to become a church and be perpetuated as such. God gives it the succession it did not ask, and holds it up to mock all successions that lie in tradition and not in duty. Methodism also illustrates another truth, viz., that Arminianism can be earnest in the godly life as well as Calvinism,—a fact that God offers us to enlarge our charity and prepare us to a broader spirit of comprehensiveness. Were it not for this, were it known that Arminianism is synonymous only with deadness and spiritual inefficiency, many would shrink from the comprehension of any one of its principles as from the contact of death. Even now, when an age of dead Calvinism appears, it has become a kind of habit with us, the injustice of which many do not know, to call the profitless churches and ministers Arminians. It would seem that a glance at the doctrines held on one side by these dead churches, then at our Methodist brethren on the other, devout, earnest, filling the new

regions and the desolate wastes of the land with their fervent prayers and the fervent praises of men converted to God, would suffice to show us all, first that Calvinism may be dead, and second that Arminianism may be alive,—possibly that a comprehension of both will be safer than to rest in either. Nor is there any sect in our country, we are sure, that will more readily sink itself in a comprehensive unity of all than this, which undertook in England to be auxiliary only to another, and which here rejoices in being a pioneer to all others. May it not be found also that the true comprehensive church will require an order of Methodism within itself, that all defects may be supplied, and all waste places visited?

The most obstinate impediment to a comprehensive church is to be found, we fear, in the Episcopal church of our country. There seems to be a kind of fatality, if we should not rather say fatuity, in our American Episcopacy, which forbids it to see where its own interest lies, and also what is due from it to the common cause of God in the nation. It embodies in itself treasures of spiritual wealth that were reluctantly renounced by our fathers, and which many among us now would gladly accept, if the wood, hay, and stubble were removed. We could draw out a modification of its liturgy and also of its polity, which would make it inviting to the great body of Christians under other names, and not a whit less satisfactory to its most earnest lay adherents; it only would not satisfy the egregious claims of its priesthood. They would be

required to give up the superstitions they have gathered round their office, and interwoven with their priestly functions. If they could cease to Anglicize and consent to be Americans; if letting go their traditional grace, they could suffer a very little of true Christian philosophy; we would give them a divine right in their office, quite as efficient and far more valid than any which they cling to now.

Doubtless there is a truth, a great and momentous truth, wrapped up in their doctrine of succession; for the church of God is a vital body, and a vital body is one; so completely one, in fact, as well-nigh to exclude the idea of succession. Its life is the life of God. This is its organific power, and it fills all ages, not as collective or successive aggregations, but as a corporate unity; sets us in immediate and living connection with the apostles and all saints of all ages, makes them venerable to our thoughts, and us participants in their history. So that a church out of connection with the past is impossible, and a church that has lost the sense of its connection, regarding itself as being historically new, is a church chilled and benumbed by the fictitious isolation it assumes. But it does not follow that the vital unity of the church is constructed by an official succession of ministers or church magistrates, but the contrary; for then there would be a complete vital organism in the magistracy of the church, distinct from that of the general body of disciples, requiring us to believe that there is either no vital unity in that, or else that there are two dis-

tinct unities, one of the magistracy and another of the body, which is the same as to deny the unity of the church.

At the same time, there is an important truth also wrapped up in this idea of a magisterial grace descending from one to another. It is only misconceived. The truth is this, that every officer in the church, as in the state, must be in it by a divine right; he must be clothed in his office by God. But it does not follow that he must be clothed in a certain way, viz., by a traditional grace of succession. In the days when kings and nobles succeeded by blood, and legitimacy was the same thing as a divine right to reign, it was natural that bishops, who do not succeed by blood, should think it essential to their office that it be derived by some kind of succession. Hence the figment of a bishop's grace was invented, and was readily accepted by the church; for how else could a bishop have any right, unless by some kind of tradition or inheritance? And how shall the Anglican church fortify itself now against the inroads of change, except as it consecrates this figment? Might not our American Episcopacy let go this fiction of legitimacy, and, ceasing to nurse a superstition so feeble and void of dignity, trust itself to such divine right as it may have directly from God as the head of all society? For it is God who clothes all office with a sacred right, an American president as truly as a British queen. The designation may be by blood or by election; the investiture may be in one form or another; still the

magistrate is in by a divine right under God as the fountain of all magistracy.

We are the more willing to apologize for our American Episcopacy, as adhering until now to this Anglicizing habit, because of the practically atheistic notions of government which have hitherto prevailed among our people. But when we have had time to bring out the true theory of our government,—election designating the ruler, God accepting and clothing him in his office,—authority derived not from men, but from God, the only conceivable fountain of authority; when our political philosophy has brought us to this, (for as yet we have no political philosophy that relates to anything deeper than the forms of government,) then it will be more inexcusable to cling to the superstition of a canonical succession in the church. And why should not our American Episcopacy, embracing now a manlier doctrine, and marrying itself boldly to our American institutions, assist us in consecrating the divine right of our civil magistracies, instead of saying practically that God can sanctify a magistracy only through a line of legitimacy and a traditional investiture?

We can never have a comprehensive church, in this nation, that mocks the political order of the nation. Let our Episcopal friends consider this, and give to the considerations we have offered their true weight; and then they will be ready to offer their church to the nation, not as a foreign mannerism, not as an affront to our feelings and our history, but as Christ

offers love to the race, paying tribute even to Cæsar. We care not for three orders or thirty, if only they bring us no superstitions and no lords over God's heritage. American Episcopacy is really nearer to American Congregationalism now than it is to the state establishment of England, if only it could acknowledge what a rigid analysis of structure would certainly show. Let it thank American history that it is brought so much nearer to the true apostolic model. And if Puritanism has been a root in our history, let some honor be ascribed to Puritanism. Being sure also of this, that no church can unite itself to the love and life of a nation, which does not honor its fathers. Actuated by views like these, let our American Episcopacy pour itself into our bosom, as it may, with all its venerable treasures; neither suffer a doubt that all it has, which is worth accepting, will be accepted.

We come now, last of all, to the Romish church, which, at present, is not in any sense an American church, but a Romish. It is foreign not in its sympathies only, but in its organization; its head and ruling power is at Rome. What are to be its fortunes in this country it may be difficult to foretell. It is perfectly manifest, however, that our institutions must communicate their spirit to its disciples in such a degree, as to limit effectually the powers of its priesthood, and in process of time to require radical changes in its discipline. It can live among us only as it submits to be Americanized. At present it has little moral power in our country, and we see not how it

can well have more, until it suffers a closer conformity with our institutions. Were it left to stand alone, as a foreign religion, it would soon have less. But unhappily another church, maintaining its pretensions by arguments of a similar character, and associated with the name of England, mitigates the alien aspect it would have when standing alone, and imparts to it a show of character it has not in itself.

We regard the Romish church as a kind of monumental Christianity. Its rites, its creeds, its prayers, are all monuments; the shrines under which it has gathered the bones of the dead ages of the faith are monuments; its cathedrals are representations in stone of their builders, and the grandeur of their Christian ideas. The saints' days are a practice in the mnemonics of history. The mendicant orders, monasteries, and religious houses still continued, after the spirit of life in which they rose has departed, are a pantomime all of death and the dead. So of the pictures, images, altars, amulets, relics, and priestly robes,—everything seen, handled, and used in the machinery of the worship, is monumental. The incense has a Jewish smell, the vestals are a classic, the candles shed a pagan light. The whole immense framework of the religion is monumental. It represents, not the contents of the Gospel of Christ, but the history of that Gospel; showing how it has acted on the base elements of an idolatrous world and a corrupt human nature, and how they, in turn, have acted upon it. The good and the evil, the holy and

the base, the charities of saints and the extortions of sin, the pure breathings of the just and the cruelties of power, trophies of faith and scars of wrong, gentile prejudices, pagan philosophies, gods baptized,—everything that has been since the Lord's ascension, all that men have done out of an evil or a good heart to build up his religion, is represented and embodied. The power of Christ is visible; in one view the structure is a memorial of his truth. Quite as visible is the power of evil. It is such a fabric as man builds, when he blends himself and the social delusions of his race with the heavenly truth he will consecrate.

And yet, if we regard it as the design of God to connect the Christian future with the Christian past by means of Romanism, how manifest is it that Romanism is what it should be! It garners up the life of the dead ages, as it gathers the bodies of the saints under its shrines, and bears them in palpable show through dark ages of sense and oblivion, to connect with the living thoughts of a more remote and more intelligent future. For, though we may shrink from any thought of union with its baser contents, we shall embrace with the livelier and healthier reverence on that account all it contains of sanctity and truth. We shall see Christ struggling through it, as the sun through clouds. The righteous good of the past will appear in it, as in a dark and solemn tragedy, to be embraced with tears. Great truths prevailing still against long ages of superstition and perverse speculation, as if unable to die, will shine

forth in it the more gloriously that they have proved their divinity. Things that move us by their sanctity and grandeur will move us the more deeply, that things base and offensive, always at hand, throw us into a maze and mix our reverence with disgust. Protesting against the human, we shall be the more impressed by what is divine.

But this, we regret to say, is not yet the happiness of Protestantism. The throe of the Protest has been so severe, and the consequent antagonism so intense, that a kind of horror, which absorbs all discriminative thoughts, separates us from Romanism and it from us. As Protestants, we seem to imagine a new beginning of Christianity. We assert a future seemingly disrupted from the past, and Romanism confronts us with a past disrupted from the future. And this is a condition of death to both; for every social body, whether civil or Christian, is *of* the past and *for* the future, and can not properly live save as it connects with both.

What now we need is this; being delivered of the mutual horror, which has thrown both great divisions of the church asunder and been a wall of unreason between them, we must dare to look, one at the other, with eyes of deliberative inspection. And thus we shall be drawn gradually towards comprehension; one to unite with the Christian past, the other with the Christian future; the old to be purified by the new, the new to be hallowed and made venerable by the old. Is not such a process already begun? What

signifies the new sympathy, which now exists, between the Romish state and the British government; a sympathy strong enough even to countervail the influence of Austria? And what is the import of the cheers for Pius Ninth, that are rolling back upon Italy from this democratic and Protestant people? And what is to be the necessary result of the spread of intelligence and of popular freedom, the growth of commerce, the rapid intercommunications of travel, and the universal intermingling of sects, which are sure to arise, on the future prevalence of liberty? The laws of society seem to prophesy here, and what do they tell us? Let no one imagine the impossibility of any such thing as a gradual approach or even a final coalescence of the two forms of religion. If a Grotius and a Leibnitz maintained, in their day, the possibility of a reconciliation and a final comprehension, laboring earnestly to accomplish it, we may well enough risk any sentence that may be passed upon us for cherishing the same thought now.

Unhappily we are accustomed only to speak of the differences between us and the Romanists, not of our agreements. Probably most Protestants would be surprised by the results that might appear on a rigid comparison of our doctrines, so many are the coincidences on points generally considered to be of the first consequence. And where some repugnances exist, a still more comprehensive scrutiny would often show that one is but the complement of the other. Elements also in the Romish polity, which we regard

with unqualified repugnance or even abhorrence, will sometimes be found, when viewed historically, to have served uses so important as to allow a mitigation of our judgments. We just now spoke, for example, of the monastic institutions in terms that are well enough adapted to their present merits. But in their origin, they were scarcely more than a natural development or outward expression of the unworldly spirit of the Christian life. And of this they stood as a living symbol before mankind, setting forth, in visible show, the antagonism between this world and the self-crucifying spirit of a life of faith. And as every sort of truth has been maintained by some extreme view of it, we need not scruple to allow that the unworldly nature of the godly life was more distinctly impressed on the minds of men, and is also more seriously apprehended even by us, by means of the ascetic or monastic institutions. For we can not definitely tell what causes in the past have assisted to construct our own views and sentiments, or detect the secret chemistry of history by which they have been shaped. In short, we may well doubt whether, if Christ had left the world, and these institutions had not arisen, the deep and awful chasm between the life of this world and the life of faith would ever have been practically set open to human apprehension, as it now is. If then, we do not prefer, just now, to commence building monasteries, or praising the sanctity of the living monks, it should comfort us, if we can find any inlet for respect in the history of their origin.

The ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope, and the stern political unity of the church under him, are quite as little respected by us as they can be, but even these may yet be viewed in a similar light. The Romish church glories in the word *catholic*, understanding however, by that term, nothing different from a universal polity. It is not a world-religion, but an iron ecclesiasticism for the world, the only possible church, thus and therefore the catholic church. Under this formal error, it represents and holds before mankind a great and holy truth. It symbolizes unity and universality. And was it not necessary, when the free mind of the Protestant world fell off into contesting bodies and scouting parties, flying hither and thither in quest of truth, that some consolidated body should remain, to hold itself up as a symbol of the catholic unity, and recall the mind of the discursives to that which is the only proper aim and last end of their inquiries, a true catholic unity; that which is never to be forgotten, always to be longed for, and as soon as may be, to be realized? For while Romanism stands for unity, and holds up its symbol, it has not yet conceived the idea of a true catholic church. No church is catholic, simply because it includes the human race; it must include them in the truth; it must comprehend them only as it is itself comprehensive. Hence there is implied, as a necessary condition, so much of disintegration, as will start a discursive process and bring out all the antagonisms involved in a complete and many-sided view of the truth. For this many-

sided view is not the view of any single man or body of men. God has it, for the absolute truth is in him. We have it not, save by manifold experiment. Rome assumes that it has even absolute truth, without experiment, and in that right challenges the assent of all mankind. But this is only to claim a universal application for that which is itself partial, which is not catholicity. True catholicity offers a universal doctrine, and for that seeks a universal application. The first problem is to find the universal doctrine, a problem which Protestantism is faithfully engaged to solve. For it is remarkable that, while the Romish church holds out the formal type or symbol of catholicity in its discipline, Protestantism only supplies the agencies by which catholicity may be realized. By this only, in its free and discursive working, are brought to light and set up for distinct apprehension, all the elements to be combined in the settlement of a universal or complete body of truth. Romanism holds the mold of unity, and we are trying to fill it. And when the comprehensive process is completed by which the material we offer is brought into a common result, a true catholic church will appear,—a church including the free mind of the world, because it represents the free mind of the world. All the views of all ages and schools being combined in a comprehensive result, that result will be the nearest approximation to the absolute truth of God, and thus a fit ground of catholicity.

That the whole Christian world, however, will ever

fall under any form of strict ecclesiasticism, is hardly to be expected. A machinery so cumbrous could hardly be supported, and it would offer incentives to human ambition more insupportable than the machinery itself. The Romanist will, just now, think otherwise. Arnold and the Chevalier Bunsen will prophesy a "church of the future" whose organic polity is national. We republicans may imagine the same, only that the civil power will not intermeddle, save as it offers a friendly protection to the church, repaid by its sanctifying presence and the union it consecrates between the public life of the nation and God. Enough that the church, in all lands and under whatever diversities, will know itself as one, in common works, a common faith, and an accordant worship,—the body of Christ on earth, the fullness of him that filleth all in all. And having come to this, it will be strange if it should not sometimes gather its ecumenical assemblies, not as convocations of state and church dignitaries like those of old time, deputed to legislate over the faith; but assemblies of the friends and ministers of God, convoked to speak of things pertaining to the kingdom, and worship together before the King. And if those magnificent piles, erected to God by the men of past ages, should some time hang their arches, like skies of stone, over the assembled messengers of the world's churches, and shake with the sound of their ecumenical hymn, it will then be judged that the ancient builders piled these holy structures for a purpose worthy of their grandeur. Assembled thus

in the grand cathedral of the North, it will not be forgotten that Protestantism and Romanism assisted both together in piling up so vast a fabric, and then the meaning of what was once a conjunction so strange will be solved. The "Three Kings" then will sleep as consecrated figments in their shrine, blank nothings, lost to thought, before the King of glory. Or assembled where a Borromeo sleeps encased in gold and gems, a real and true saint of the past, the past will be there, as a living power, repelled by no disdain, welcome to all hearts, and breathing into all a spirit of conscious unity with the buried just of all ages and climes. We are willing too that St. Peter's should witness a convocation like this; for then the true idea of the Catholic church will have arrived at Rome. And if it may, for one such occasion, be accepted as the metropolis of the Christian world, edicts and bulls will no more be its delight; the tiara will pass to the head of the King, where it belongs; offerings holier than all incense will fill the place, and the grand *miserere* of the nations, poured out as a wail for sin, will melt them into a fellowship so lowly that human dignities will be forgotten. And then we cannot object if the Latin prayers, which embody the worship of past ages, should find their legitimate use as a common language of devotion, for the assembled tongues of mankind.

In offering these thoughts to the public, we are well aware that some may be scandalized or alarmed by their free spirit. But such will relieve their appre-

hensions, if they consider that we ask no compromise of opinions and do not even speak of liberality as a special Christian virtue. We simply require it of all Christians to look for the truth, and the truth only. And if we require them to look beyond themselves and across their own boundaries, we see not that there is any thing specially frightful in this, if they look for nothing but the truth. Or if we prepare a previous conviction in their minds, that there is somewhat of truth in all Christian bodies, does any one doubt that there is? And if it should happen that all these bodies look upon the truth on a side peculiar to themselves, what harm can it do us to pass round and look through their eyes? The method taken by the late Evangelical Alliance at London, was truly a dangerous method and closely allied to licentiousness; for it chose out only common truths in which all the parties could agree, and consented to let all other truths pass into shade as of minor consequence. We recognize, contrary to this, the great principle that truth is a whole and is to be sought only as a whole, anywhere, everywhere, and by all means. Let no one fear the debauching of his Christian integrity in so doing.

Others probably will look upon our labor in this matter as a useless expenditure of breath, and the hope we encourage as altogether visionary and romantic. It would be, if we held the expectation that the church of God is ever to become a political unity. Or if we proposed to the Christian sects to come together and work out a comprehensive unity by any

deliberative effort, in the manner of compromise and composition. Or if we looked for the realization of any such result as we speak of, by any given method, within any given space of time. Our object is simply to set before the Christian sects the comfortable truth that our antagonisms are, to a great degree, comprehensible,—parts only or partialities, having each their complement in all the others. Thus we seek to beget a more fraternal feeling and soften the asperities and prejudices that hold us asunder; thus to set all thinking minds on an endeavor after the broadest and most catholic views of truth, in the confident hope that God will thus enlarge their souls, draw them together towards a more complete brotherhood, and finally into a full consent of worship. This, if we rightly understand, is what the Scriptures mean by "seeing eye to eye." We now see shoulder to shoulder; but when we can look into the eye, every man of his brother, and see what he sees, we shall be one.

And if any one asks, when shall these things be? we may well enough refer him to the geologists for an answer. For if God required long ages of heaving and fiery commotion to settle the world's layers into peace and habitable order, we ought not utterly to despair, if the geologic era of the church covers a somewhat longer space of time than we ourselves might prescribe. Enough for us that we show the laws of commotion and the methods of final pacification. Enough for us that the views we have advanced, if accepted and held by our fellow-Christians, will be

found to contain the philosophic causes of a better day, drawing us all into a closer assimilation and, as sure as causes must have their effects, into a final embrace in the truth. Confident of this, and leaving times and seasons to God, we do not seem to propose to the world unpractical schemes or romantic expectations.

This discussion we have already protracted beyond our ordinary limits, but the magnitude of the subject must be our excuse. There is yet a whole branch of it remaining untouched, and one that would require a volume to give it a sufficient representation. It is this,—to exhibit the laws and conditions under which the comprehensive process we speak of may be conducted to its results with the greatest certainty and expedition. All we can do here at present is to offer a few suggestions.

And first of all, there needs to be a more comprehensive character formed in individual Christians. We must have a piety not of "our church," or "our catechism," or "our baptism," or our "Christian democracy," but a piety measured by God himself. We must look upon the comprehensive character as a Christian attainment. Such was the character of Christ, and therefore we must be as sure that he will have it formed in us, as that he will bring us into his own image. God himself too, is a comprehensive being in his character, so that coming unto him in the closest and most intimate union of spirit, which is the very idea of Christian piety, we must endeavor to par-

take of that quality which most distinguishes him. For it is not some better philosophy generated in our understanding that can work out, by itself, the process of which we speak. We must have a better philosophy in our heart and spirit, and this we must draw from God. We shall attain to no true comprehensiveness, except as we find it in God; in the holier love which melts away our prejudices, subordinates our human passions, expands the narrowness of our fallen nature, and makes us partake of the divine nature. This will universalize, first our heart and, through that, gradually, our understanding. We shall have a single eye when we have a simple, godly heart. A really comprehensive spirit, one all devoted to truth, stretching itself to contain all truth, as seen by all Christian minds, must be a religious spirit. Clearing itself of all human trammels, it must go up unto God himself; for nowhere short of God do the lines of truth meet and come into harmony so that a mind may comprehend them. In him too, as we certainly know, all our sects and divisions melt into unity. He is not the God of our sect. We dare not say it or think it. We tacitly admit that he holds some broader view, which is also and for that reason, juster than ours. We do not doubt that he looks upon us all as diminished atoms of intelligence ranging in his infinite realm of truth, fixing here and there upon our points of doctrine, and regarding each the field that lies within his narrow horizon as the whole field,—repugnant therefore, as between ourselves, but

still in radical harmony, as before him. To such thoughts we are to accustom ourselves, to consecrate them in our prayers and nourish them before him by a more conscious and habitual exercise. And if our piety does not enlarge us in this manner, we are rather to repent of it than to bless ourselves in it. But if God be in us, enlarging us by his own measure and causing us to receive of his own greatness, then shall we cease to be straitened in ourselves, and be able to comprehend that length and breadth and depth and height, which it is the prerogative of his saints to do.

It will help us also to remember that, as men or human creatures, our tendency is to err by narrowness and partiality, never by completeness or comprehensiveness. We are not only finite, but we enter into life only as rudimental beings, here to be filled out into proper men. We are to study, reflect, observe, rectify errors, then to rectify rectifications, and thus to fill out the character of sons of God. Children, we observe, always go for extremes. They *apprehend* what they may, but in our sense of the word, *comprehend* nothing; and a very preponderant number of our race seem never to get beyond their childhood in this respect. Our very finiteness, struggling after rest in the infinite, is obliged to seize on single points; and these glimmering points we take for suns, partly because they are our seeing and partly because they fill our vision. We are thus occupied, for the most part, with half-seeing. And having found some pole of truth or of duty, we go to

war for that, as if our half truth were entitled to fill and occupy the universe. Then again our passions carry us away yet farther, like a very great sail upon some feathery skiff which the gusts drive hither and thither, and force upon the shallows when they will. The pride which says, "this is my truth," or "our truth," opinions held more firmly by the will because they are so dimly seen by the understanding, the lust of power, the fanatical idolatry of sect, all the venomous spirits that hover in the steam of our carnal hearts, conspire to narrow even our piety itself. Evil is a perpetual astringent in our souls, and we can get no breadth, save as we mortify and crucify ourselves. These are truths which every Christian man must regard more attentively than has yet been done in any former age. They must enter into our practical life. We must habitually suspect ourselves of limitation. We must find the sect spirit in our nature keeping close company with our sins and coiling itself also, as a serpent, around the body of our piety. And when this latter grows exclusive and repugnant, walling itself up to heaven in its righteousness, we must have it for a maxim that we are narrowing ourselves by the measure of our sins.

Furthermore, it will be of great use, if we have some philosophic view of life and its appointments, that accords with God's design therein. He has put us down in this many-sided world, where all manner of contrary and controversial forces are pushing us hither and thither, that he may bring us into all possi-

ble views of truth and duty, cure our half-seeing, fill out our otherwise partial measure, and make us as nearly complete as it is possible for us to be. All that we see, hear, experience, in this multifarious world of struggle and debate, is undoubtedly meant to enlarge the comprehension of our mind, principles, feelings, hopes, charities. Neither let any one shrink from such a thought, as if it were akin to laxity or licentiousness. There is a kind of liberalism, as we have said, which is but another name for indifference to the truth. With such a spirit the comprehensive soul has no feeling of sympathy. This is, in fact, the type of character most of all devoted to truth, regarding it as the brightest beam of divinity that shines into our world. Therefore it reverently seeks the truth in all minds irradiated by its light, separates it from the errors with which it is blended, sanctifies it as holy and dear to God. On the other hand, if we speak of the partisan classes or schools, sometimes called illiberal, such as gather about some pole of doctrine, stiff for their particular sect, impatient of the least departure from it, how manifest is it that these would rather die for half the truth than for the whole! But the comprehensive spirit seeks to comprehend all repugnances, and lose, if possible, no shred of truth, wherever it may be found. Actuated by this lofty spirit, in which it resembles itself to God, it listens to all voices, searches out all forms of doctrine, proves all things and holds fast that which is good. Let no one fancy that he finds in history

examples to deter us from the indulgence of such a spirit, as if it were the omen of a licentious age; for the history of man has never yet offered an example of the kind. There have been many attempts, in the Christian world, to bring about what is called, in the history, a comprehension of sects and parties. And the best men of the church have been forward in them. Baxter, Howe, Dr. Watts, Bishop King, Tillotson, Patrick, and others of the highest distinction in our English race, have conceived the idea of a composition of sects, and labored in their time to bring it to pass,—labored of course in vain; for they conceived no other method of comprehension, than one that is to be realized immediately by an act of consent. Their effort was to settle the church by concession, compromise, and a moderation of extremes, not to prepare the souls of all disciples by a gradual process of enlargement in the truth. Our Episcopal friends, too, sometimes delight to call their church, "The Comprehensive Church," gravely showing how many varieties of faith may be quietly harbored, and have been, under its convenient ambiguities! We propose a method somewhat different from all these, and one, we think, which is as much more practicable as it is less dangerous and farther removed from licentiousness.

At the same time, while we speak of it as a less dangerous method, we cannot deny that it requires a much higher courage and firmness of spirit; for it lays upon every man, as an individual, to begin with

himself, and trust his opinions to a law or process which is higher than the law of any sect or school. And it is scarcely possible that one, who is accustomed to handle all the great subjects of religious inquiry in this method, and to work his mind by the process it prescribes, should not become a generally suspicious character. But he must content himself with the verdict of the future, not doubting that a spirit so ingenuous will some time be as much approved by his fellow Christians, as it certainly is by God himself. Meantime, while resting himself in this manner on the truth of his own intentions, he will probably find also that he is delivered of an affliction which is the necessary torment of all mere partisans, dwelling in an element of composure which more than repays the distrusts of his sect. The sectarian or partisan is the man of a part, one who measures himself by the contents of his sect, and not in reality by the truth itself. And as every partial view must have its antagonist, he is doomed to undergo a perpetual anxiety for his position. For, regarding it as the very truth itself, the complete truth of God, when he sees it assaulted by some adversary, as it certainly will be, he is filled with distressful anxiety lest the very foundations of the Gospel should finally give way or be corrupted. But the comprehensive method assists one to look on the two adverse parties as half-seeing men, who, if they see the whole truth between them, have yet the disadvantage that they see nothing as a whole. It is as if one saw the centrifugal and the other the attrac

tive force of astronomy. One fears that the worlds will fly asunder beyond all fellowship, the other shudders lest they rush into a grand heap of ruins in the center. But the man who can comprehend both forces in a scientific view, rests in comfort on the balanced order of the worlds, knowing that nothing can ever disturb the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or burst the bands of Orion. In the same way it will ever be found that the men of a part or a sect are an uncomfortable and anxious race, living in perpetual panic, as if God's realm of truth were just about to dissolve, because their truth is threatened by another which, for some reason, will have advocates as earnest as they. But there is calmness, comfort, courage, and rest for any comprehensive soul, knowing that if all together succeed, they will only suffice to fill out the measures of divine truth.

We have spoken already of language, as the fruitful source of contrary opinions and sects. If our schools of theology could, by three years of exercise, get into the minds of their pupils a right understanding of this one single matter,—the relation of a thought to a word,—they would do more to quicken their intelligence and prepare them to a skillful resolution of the great questions pertaining to religion, than is often done by their whole course of discipline. This of itself would be the fruitful seed of a great and powerful theology. This only can open a true interpretation of Scripture, such as will suffice for a settlement of Christian doctrine. The Scriptures are

the truth of God under the forms of language, and subject to its laws. No other book contains a system of truth so complete and comprehensive as the Bible, and for that very reason it combines all repugnant modes of statement. Viewed in its forms of language, without descending into its interior meaning, it is the most contradictory of all books. It is the product of all ages, and represents all kinds of mental habit. It views every subject of truth and duty on every side, and sets it forth at every pole. It offers thus, to a perverse or insufficient interpretation, material for every sect. Logically treated and without any power of insight deeper than logic, sects are its legitimate products. We hear it said on every side, that there are no "*isms*" in the Bible. Rather should we say, which is the real truth, that all manner of "*isms*" are in it, comprehended there; finite in infinite, as we ourselves in God. Therefore only is it a complete and universal code of truth worthy of its author. When the Christian scholars are able to distinguish between the forms of truth and truth itself, receiving the latter without being enslaved by the laws of logic enveloped in the former, the true catholic doctrine will be seen and the sects will disappear and die. Sooner they cannot.

It is of the highest consequence also that we should understand the true import of the Christian history, and discover what duty it has prepared for us. We mourn over the controversies and contentions which up to this time have rent, as we say, the unity and

peace of the church of God. Many minds have lately been occupied with a peculiar grief on this account. See, they say, into how many sects and schools the body of our Lord is riven! And if we look at the evil passions and bitter strifes involved, it is truly a mournful sight. But controversies must needs arise; in one view, controversies were needed, else the manifold extremes of truth could never appear. It was necessary for the great champions to gird on their armor and take the field. It was necessary to see behind us a long line of militant ages, smoking in the dust of controversy and causing the air to ring with the blows of their valiant encounter. So of the sects that have multiplied upon us in these last ages. All these are but the preliminary work necessary to be done in the trying out of God's truth. In one view, there have never been too many controversies, and are not now too many sects; for taken together they are wanted, all, as a grand exhibit or practical display of the manifold extremes of truth. The first ages could not take up the comprehending of opposites until the opposites were set forth; but they did what they could, they set them forth. And now, in these last times, the result is to appear.

What then is now to be done? What does God require of us? Controversy? No, it is generally agreed that we have worn out controversy. What then? Must we learn to hold opinions more loosely, to be patient with error, and content ourselves in it? No, persecution itself were a dignified compliment to

God's truth in comparison with any such inanity as that. Do we then want a grand, world-wide Alliance, in which all Christians will agree to agree, or if they cannot do that, to controvert harmoniously? So many have thought, and they appear to fancy that when the Christian sects are strung together thus, like bells without a tongue, they will ring the world a concert by their external impact. Doubtless it is well, if they only meet to pray together and blend their hearts in communion before God. It is in itself a beautiful sight, and quite as beautiful in what it indicates,—the fact that now, at last, a comprehensive brotherhood in Christ has become a want. That want is above all things to be nourished. And being nourished, how shall it be guided to the attainment of its object? Not by selecting from the contents of our sects, and building up a union in diminished quantities of conviction. Every bell must have a tongue and a voice of its own. What we need is enlarged quantities of conviction, fullness of truth, not a compact based on half the quantity possessed by us now. We must take up the conviction that we do not all together contain more than the truth, and the endeavor must be to end our strifes by such a kind of enlargement as will comprehend all our antagonisms, and bring us into the essential unity of truth itself. We must have it as a settled conviction, that in almost every form of Christian opinion earnestly maintained, even those which are often regarded as pure error, there is yet some element of truth, something which

makes it true to its disciples. Then laying aside all malice, our schools must go into the language, one of another, asking what makes it true to the school maintaining it, and thus we must proceed till all our antagonisms are sifted and every school has gotten to itself the riches of all. Or better still, admitting each that our wisdom is not perfect, that the truth we hold is only partial truth, we are to cherish the want of something more perfect. And then, ceasing to insist that others shall receive and justify us, we are to ask, What have they which is a want in us? What views of theirs, qualifying ours, would render them more valuable to us? What contribution, accepted of them, would make us more complete in the riches of the Gospel? Thus let Calvinism take in Arminianism, Arminianism Calvinism; let decrees take in contingency, contingency decrees; faith take in works, and works faith; the old take in the new, the new the old; not doubting that we shall be as much wiser as we are more comprehensive, as much closer to unity as we have more of the truth. For then, as all are seen embracing and comprehending all, we shall find that we are one, not by virtue of any concert or agreement, but as the necessary consequence of our completeness in the truth. To be strung together in outward alliances will now be a vain thing; for all Christian souls will ring in peals of harmony, as a chime that is voiced by the truth.

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